
LICENSED
THE
HISTORY
OF THE
DESSERTION.

James Fraser.

April 10.
1881

LICENSED

HISTORICAL

April 10.
1689.

OF THE

James Fraser.

DESSERTION

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
DESERTION,
OR

An ACCOUNT of all the Publick Affairs

IN

ENGLAND,

From the beginning of *September* 1688. to the Twelfth
of *February* following.

WITH
AN ANSWER

To a Piece call'd

The DESERTION Discussed :

In a LETTER to a Country Gentleman,

By a Person of Quality.

*Provida severitate cavisti, ne fundata legibus Civitas, eversa
legibus videretur. C. Plin. Pan. Trajan. Cap. XXXIV.*

London, Printed for Ric. Chiswell at the *Rose* and
Crown in St. Paul's Church-yard. MDCLXXXIX.

THE
HISTORY

OF THE

DECEASED

OR

THE HISTORY OF THE DECEASED

IN

FINLAND

AND

THE HISTORY OF THE DECEASED

IN

THE DEPARTMENT OF DISTRICTS

AND

THE HISTORY OF THE DECEASED

IN

THE DEPARTMENT OF DISTRICTS

AND

TO THE
R E A D E R.

I Am perswaded, that those of the Church of England, who now seem discontented at the Present State of Affairs in England, are mistaken in the matter of Fact; and that they do imagine the Religion, Laws, and Liberties of this Nation might have been secured to us, and our Posterity, by other, and those more legal Methods.

Now if this Conceit of theirs were true, their Dissatisfaction would not be wholly unreasonable; but to me, who have considered every Step of this Great Revolution with the utmost Attention of Mind, it seems altogether false and groundless.

But whether they or I are mistaken, it is absolutely necessary that the matter of Fact should be truly and fairly stated; which cannot be done, but by representing in one View all the Papers which passed on both sides, with the Actions which hapned, the present State of Affairs at home and abroad, when the Revolution began, and the temper of Mens Minds in all the Occurrences as they hapned: And this I have endeavoured to do with all the Brevity, Perspicuity, and Fidelity which was possible.

As

To the Reader.

As I am the first that have attempted it, so it is not impossible there may be some Mistakes, Omissions, or Errors; but there is not one wilful Error, and I will rectifie any involuntary Stumble I may have made, upon the first Advice of it.

To have fully cleared this Question, it was perhaps necessary that I should have begun with the Year 1600. and the Restitution of Charles the Second, or at least at his Death; but this would have taken too much time to have presently gone about it; and if I find this is well received, and encouraged, I will in a convenient time do it; especially if I may have the liberty of the Council-Book, and the Paper-Office, and such other helps as are necessary.

And in the mean time, I conceive this short Abstract of the Publick Printed Papers, is sufficient to convince any Man, that the Popish Party were resolved we should be Rebels, (as they now account us) or Slaves; and His late Majesty was so far prevailed upon by them, that he chose rather to desert his Throne, than to lose all the Possibilities of Establishing an absolute Sovereignty over the Nation, and Popery with it.

I suppose it is not pretended in England, His late Majesty forfeited his Right to Govern by his Misgovernment; but that the sense of it prevail'd upon him rather to throw up the Government, than to concur with an English Free-Parliament in all that was needful to re-establish

To the Reader.

re-establish our Laws, Liberties and Religion; and this is a proper legal Abdication, as it is distinguished from a Voluntary Resignation on the one hand, and a Violent Deposition on the other.

He was bound to govern us according to Law, and we were not bound to submit to any other than a legal Government; but he would not do the one, and saw he could not force us to submit to the other, and therefore deliberately relinquished the Throne, and withdrew his Person and Seals, dissolving (as much as he could) the whole Frame of our Government.

The Reader may observe, tho' he give Reasons why he withdrew the second time, he never gave any why he went away at first, nor can any be assigned (as I verily believe) but that which I have expressed.

Now if this be the true state of this great Affair, then we were legally discharged of our Allegiance to James the Second, the Eleventh of December last past; and his Return afterwards, which was forced and involuntary, could have no Influence upon us; and if he were now to be restored again, he must be re-crowned and sworn de novo, as Henry the Sixth was after he was restored by the Earl of Warwick.

There may possibly be some few Men so superlatively Loyal, that rather than they would not still be under the Government of James the Second, they would throw up all the English Liberties and Privileges, and submit to an absolute and unlimited Sovereignty,

To the Reader.

raignty, either out of Scruple of Conscience, Vanity, or Humour; now to these I have nothing to say, but that if they are willing to be Slaves, they may; but it is unreasonable that they should enslave all the rest of the Nation too; and as the Number is not great, so I am perswaded (if Patience and gentle Methods are used) these Men will in a short time be convinced by their own Interest, and acquiesce at least, if they do not heartily joyn with the rest in the Defence of the present Government.

As to the small Piece which I have answered, I cannot but admire at the Encomiums have been given it; I hope there is nothing in it worth regarding, which I have not fairly answered; at least I am sure it is very answerable, it being wholly founded on Mistakes, either as to the matter of Fact, or the Laws of England: But be this as it will, I submit to it the Reader to judge between us.

April 6th.
1689.

THE

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
DESERTION,
AND

AN ANSWER to a DISCOURSE, Intitled,
The Desertion discuss'd: In a Letter to a Country Gentleman.

THE late Transactions of that part of our Nation, which have espoused the Interests and Principles of the Church of *Rome*, are so full of Wonder, that I perswade my self, Posterity will look upon the Story of the last ten years, as a meer *Romance*; and will very hardly believe so small a Party durst attempt, or so great a Body would ever so long suffer what we have born with a *Stoical* Patience, I had almost said *Insensibility*. But then this *Assurance* was not owing either to their Courage, or their Cunning, but a strong Perswasion, that how ill soever they used us of the Church of *England*, the Doctrine of *Non-resistance* would keep us in awe; and if the other part of the Protestants should offer to rescue the Nation out of their *Claws*, our Zeal for the *Monarchy*, and the *Royal Family* would have the same effect it had in the *Monmouth* Invasion, and end in the Ruin of them.

However, to prevent the worst, they resolved to keep up a numerous Army to suppress betimes any Party that might stir in the Nation; and to fix them the more to their Interest, they not only exempted the Souldiers from the Civil Jurisdiction, but suffer'd them to out-rage and injure whom they pleased almost without restraint.

To divide us yet more, they procured a *Toleration* for the *Dissenters*, and made such fulsome Applications to them, and they again returned the Complement in such *Rhetorical Adresses*, that it was verily thought the Church of *England* Party would very easily have been given up for a Sacrifice to the kind, sincere, well-meaning *Catholicks*.

But our *Dissenters* were not so easily wheedled into a forgetfulness of what they had so lately suffered; and altho' they gave the *Fathers* many good words, and fair Promises, yet when they had opportunity, they gave such bold hints of their Resolution to defeat the Expectations of these Gentlemen, that I protest I wondred at nothing more than to see them so far infatuated, as to believe they should ever reap any Advantage from our *Non-cons*.

They were however ingaged, and therefore they must go on, be the Event what it would; and finding it would be a work of time; and that it was not possible *James II.* should live to see it effected, and that after his death the Succession of the then *Princess of Orange* would put an end to all this *Babel* of *Confusion* they had with so much Labour and Hazard erected. They resolved in the next place to take care for a *Catholick Successor* to finish this great Work. And in truth it was a Project worthy of such bold Undertakers, if they could have as easily deluded the *English Nation*, as they frequently do those who have a mighty fondness for Miracles, and had rather be deceived than find out the *Legerdemains* of the Priesthood: But then this was so highly improbable, that I wonder they ever entred into it; and that none of the *Fathers* have yet told us, that we ought not to think it possible for them to be such Fools as to attempt to impose in a matter of that Consequence upon so learned, so curious, so distrustful and fierce a Nation as this of *England* is: I assure them this Argument would have more force than all the *Depositions* they have printed in that case, and engage many to espouse their Quarrel out of pure *Piquantry*.

How far they might yet have gone, and what would in the end have been the consequence of this *formal Plot* upon our Lives, Liberties, and Religion, is known to none but God: They looked upon the Protestant or British Interest in *Ireland*, as wholly at their Mercy: *Scotland* was in such a condition, that

that nothing could be begun there, which would not terminate in the ruin of the Undertakers: And *England* was so divided in Interest and Religion, that they expected a considerable Body of the Protestants would lend them their assistance to ruine the rest, and therefore call'd them their *Scaffolds*. *France*, the most Potent of our Neighbours, was apparently engag'd in the same Design; *Denmark* and *Sweden* engaged against each other in the Quarrel of the Duke of *Holstein*. The Protestant Princes in *Germany* were either awed by the *French*, or divided between the Northern Crowns: *Spain* was weak, and unable to defend it self, and too Catholick at last to espouse heartily the Interests of a Protestant Nation against a *Roman Catholick* Prince; so that they had nothing to fear but the States of *Holland*, and the Prince of *Orange*: And they looked upon the States as a knot of Merchants, more intent upon their *Trade*, than concern'd for the Fate of *England*; and yet if they should attempt any thing, *England* and *France* by Sea and Land would easily reduce them into the same state they were in in the year 1672.

Now supposing the *French* King who is so zealous a *Roman Catholick*, had not so vigorously (and as far as I can see) so impolitickly carried on the Controversie with the Pope about the Franchises of his Ambassador at *Rome*; and that he had had the patience to suffer the Emperor to recover what his Ancestors had lost to the *Turks*, and left the Controversies between the Elector *Palatine* (who is a *Roman Catholick*) and the Dutches of *Orleans*, to the determination of the Pope, what had *France* lost in all this? And who then could have made one step to the Recovery of *England*? I know very well it is said, *the Emperor would certainly begin a War with France so soon as ever he had ended this with the Turks to his mind*: And in truth he had just reason so to do. But it is more probable he would have spent first some years in fortifying, peopling, and settling his new Conquests to secure himself on that side against his most formidable Neighbour, rather than that he would presently transfer his Arms and victorious Armies from the East to the West, and pass so suddenly from one long and ruinous War to another of no less hazard and expence. And yet if he had done so, the Princes

of the Empire would never so heartily and generally have joyned with him against *France*, if he had been the *Aggressor*, how just soever his cause had been, as it might easily have been foreseen they would, when they were first attack'd, and as it were forced to flie to the Emperor for his Protection. So that it was apparently the Interest of *France* to have fate still, and to have taken the first opportunity had offered it self to have enslaved the first of his Neighbours that had call'd him to their assistance; and our *English Jesuits* did not doubt but that he would.

In the *Interim* it was well for *England*, that the *French King* acted as he did; for to him, in a great measure, our Delivery is owing (tho' he never intended it) his Breach with the Pope and the Empire, having not only given the *Dutch* a pretence to arm by Sea and Land, and so blinded the Eyes of our *English Court*, that they never saw, nor would believe themselves concern'd in it, till it was too late to help it: But it also united not only all the Protestant, but all the Catholic Princes too (except *France*) in the Project of delivering us for their own security, that we might be in a condition to unite with them again for the preservation of *Europe*, from following the triumphant Chariot of *France* in Chains.

His late Majesty seems to have been the only Prince in Christendom, who made it his great, and almost only design to advance the Interests of the Church of *Rome*, without, and against his own temporal Interest. The rest of the Princes and their Council look in the first place to their own Concerns at home and abroad, and make the Affairs of Religion subservient to their other Designs. The Pope is not so fond of his old *Mumpsimus*, or of the Decrees of the Council of *Trent* it self, as to suffer *France* to conquer *Italy*, *Spain*, or *Germany*, no nor *England*, nor *Holland* neither, how much soever it might seem to facilitate their Reduction to the See of *Rome*; because he knows very well the first Prince that shall make himself the Universal Monarch of *Europe*, or gain such a power over the rest, as is not to be disputed or opposed, will certainly put an end to the Sovereignty, Wealth, Grandeur, and Independency of the Court of *Rome*; and the Pope will become as subject to him (notwithstanding his Infallibility) as the *Musty* is to the *Grand Signior*, who
never

never makes any Scruple to depose, or bow-string the Infal-
lible Gentleman whenever he crosseth his Designs, and to set
up another in his stead, whose Infallibility will be more
complaisant. The Emperor of *Germany* is as religious and
as zealous a Prince for the Roman Catholick Religion as
ever sprung out of that Family: But he has no mind, after
all, to lose his Life, his Empire, and his Liberty; he had ra-
ther there should be some Hereticks in *Germany*, than to suffer
the *French* King to send his Apostolick Dragoons to convert
them, and drive him into Exile. The King of *Spain* values
the poor dispeopl'd share he has yet left him in *Europe*, too
well to put it into the Hands of the *French*, in order to the
reducing the Northern Hereticks to the *See of Rome*. No
wonder then that these Princes should all unite with his now
Majesty of *England*, against a Prince of their own Religion,
when they saw he had embraced a design which would cer-
tainly end in his and all their Ruins, and which would raise
France to such an height of Power, as could never be re-
trieved.

This was very near the state of Affairs at home and a-
broad, when Monsieur the Comte d' *Avaux*, the *French* King's
Ambassador at the *Hague* the 9th. of *September* last published
this *Memorial*, which first opened the Eyes of our small
States-men here in *England*.

N. S.

My Lords,

THe sincere desire the King my Master has to maintain the
Tranquility of *Europe*, will not suffer his Majesty to see
the great Preparations for War, both by Sea and Land, made by
your Lordships, without taking the measures that Prudence (the
continual Companion of all his Actions) inspires him with, to pre-
vent the Mischiefs these War-like Preparations will certainly draw
after them.

October 30.
1688.

And altho' the King perswaded of the Wisdom of your Councils,
would not imagine that a Free state should so easily resolve to take
up Arms, and to kindle a War, which in the present Juncture can-
not but be fatal to all Christendom: Nevertheless his Majesty can-
not believe your Lordships would engage your selves in so great Ex-
pences both at home and abroad, to entertain in pay so many Fo-
reign Troops, to put to Sea so numerous a Fleet so late in the year,
and

and to prepare so great Magazines, if you had not a design form'd answerable to the greatness of these Preparations.

All these Circumstances, and many others that I may not here produce, perswade the King, my Master, with reason, that this Arming threatens England: Wherefore his Majesty hath commanded me to declare to you on his part, That the Bands of Friendship and Alliance between him and the King of Great Britain, will oblige him not only to assist him, but also to look on the first act of Hostility that shall be committed by your Troops or your Fleet, against his Majesty of Great Britain, as a manifest Rupture of the Peace, and a Breach with his Crown.

I leave to your Lordships Prudence to reflect on the Consequences that such Enterprises may have, his Majesty not having ordered me to make you this Declaration on his Part, without his sincere Intention to prevent (as I have already had the Honour to tell you) all that may trouble the Peace of Europe.

Given at the Hague the 9th. of September, 1688.

September.

In England all things were then in the utmost degree of Disorder and Security; the Army committing the utmost degree of Insolence in all places where they were quartered, and the People making frequent and loud Complaints: Whereupon his late Majesty issued out again an old Order which had been frequently, and to no good purpose published before, commanding that no Souldier should be lodged in any private House, without the free and voluntary Consent of the Owner; and that all Houses should be deem'd private Houses except Victualling-Houses, and Houses of publick Entertainment, or such as have License to sell Wine or any other Liquor, &c. Under this pretence they brought in all Bakers, Cooks, &c. This Order bears date the 2d. of September at Windsor.

Tho' the English Army were become thus intolerable to the Nation, and there was so great a Storm gathering in Holland, yet so stupid were our Drivers, that nothing would serve our then Masters, but the filling the Army with Irish men, who were likely to be more disorderly, and more hated; to that end Major Slingsby, Lieutenant Governour of Portsmouth, under his Grace the Duke of Berwick, had ordered the Regiment there quartered, to take in about thirty Irish Gentlemen, which

which was opposed by *John Beaumont*, Lieutenant Coll. *Thomas Pastor*, *Simon Parke*, *Thomas Orme*, *William Cook*, and *John Port*, Officers and Commanders in that Regiment, which they had rais'd at their own Costs and Charges, during the *Monmouth* Invasion. The first of these made this Speech by their appointment, and in all their names to the Duke of *Berwick*.

Sir,

I am desired by these Gentlemen (with whose Sense I concur) to inform your Grace, that we do not think it consistent with our Honours to have Foreigners imposed upon us, without being complain'd of, that our Companies were weak, or Orders to recruit them, not doubting but if such Orders had been given us, We that first in very ill times raised them Hundreds, could easily now have made them according to the Kings Complement: We humbly Petition we may have leave to fill up our Companies with such men of our Nation we may judge most suitable for the Kings Service, and to support our Honours; or that we may be permitted, with all imaginable Duty and Respect, to lay down our Commissions.

The Account of this Opposition being forthwith sent to *Windſor*, where the Court then was, the Rage and Fury against these rebellious, heretical Officers, was unspeakable; and in truth nothing could be more contrary to their Designs, which was by degrees to fill up the *English* Army with *Irish* and *Roman Catholicks*, because they found it was not possible to do it at once, as they had done in *Ireland*: And now nothing would serve them but the hanging the six honest Gentlemen by Martial Law; and accordingly a Party of Horse were ordered to go down to *Portsmouth* to bring them up in custody, and a Court Martial was ordered to proceed against them; and if the Memorial of the *French* Ambassador had not come in that very Morning to shew them their danger, in all probability they had been so treated; but upon this, the 10th. of *September* they were only cashier'd, after they had on the Road been treated with great Severity and Indignity: However, this was one of those things which contributed very much to what followed.

The 20th. of *September*, the King being then returned with the Court to *Whitehall*, published this Declaration.

Having

HAVING already signified Our pleasure to call a Parliament to meet at Our City of *Westminster* in *November* next, and Writs of Summon being issued accordingly, lest those whose Right it is to chuse Members of Parliament, should be under any Prejudices and Mistakes thro' the Artifices of affected Persons; We think fit to declare, That it is Our Royal Purpose to endeavour a legal Establishment of an Universal Liberty of Conscience for all Our Subjects; it is also our Resolution *inviolably to preserve the Church of England by such a Confirmation of the several Acts of Uniformity, that they shall never be altered by any other ways than by repealing the several Clauses which inflict Penalties upon Persons not promoted, or to be promoted to any Ecclesiastical Benefices or Promotions within the meaning of the said Acts, for using and exercising their Religion contrary to the Tenor and Purport of the said Acts of Uniformity.* And for the further securing not only the Church of England, but the Protestant Religion in general, We are willing the Roman Catholicks shall remain incapable to be Members of the House of Commons; whereby those Fears and Apprehensions will be removed, which many persons have had, That the Legislative Authority would be engrossed by them, and turn'd against Protestants.

We do likewise assure all our loving Subjects, that We shall be ready to do every thing else for their safety and advantage, that becomes a King, who will always take care of his People; and if they desire the happiness of their Country, We exhort them to lay by all Animosities, and dispose themselves to think of such Persons to represent them in Parliament, whose Abilities and Temper render them fit for so great and good a Work.

And for the preventing any Disorders, Irregularities, or undue Proceedings whatsoever that may happen either before, or at the time of Election of Members for the ensuing Parliament, We do hereby strictly require and command all Mayors, Sheriffs, Bailiffs, and other Officers whatsoever, to whom the execution of any Writ, Summons, Warrant, or Precept for, or concerning the choice of Members for the ensuing Parliament shall belong, That they cause such Writ, Summons, Warrant, or Precept to be duly published and executed according to the Tenor thereof: And the
Members

Members that shall be chosen, to be fairly return'd accord-
ing to the Merits of the Choice. *September.*

The Nation was by this time become so distrustful of all the Proceedings of the Court, that this *Declaration* was thought absolutely necessary to assure them a Parliament should be holden, and yet after all it was little believed. The Preparations in *Holland* had made it necessary to wheedle the Church of *England-men*, and therefore they were told only the Penalties of the Acts of Uniformity should be repeal'd, that an Universal Liberty of Conscience might be established: And the Roman Catholicks not being likely to be chosen for Members of the lower House in this Parliament, they were contented to continue incapable of being chosen in there, intimating, they intended however to sit in the House of Lords.

The 26th of *September* there was an Order made to authorize and empower the Lords Lieutenants (many of which were Roman Catholicks, or unqualified persons) of the several Counties, to grant Deputations to such Gentlemen as had been lately removed from being Deputy-Lieutenants; and his Majesty also gave directions to the Right Honourable the Lord Chancellor of *England*, to put into the Commission of the Peace such Gentlemen as had been lately laid aside, and shall be recommended by the said Lords-Lieutenants.

In the *Interim* certain Intelligence being brought, that the Preparations in *Holland* were designed against *England*: The 24th of *September* were summoned the Bishop of *London*, *Winchester*, *Ely*, *Chichester*, *Rochester* and *Bristol*, and the Archbishop of *Canterbury*; and the 28th of *Septemb.* they appeared at *Whitehall*, and there waited accordingly that day upon the King in a Body; *Winchester*, *Ely*, *Chichester*, *Rochester*, *Bath and Wells*, and *Peterborough*; but *London* and *Bristol* came not then to Town; and the Archbishop was sick, and came alone the next day. There passed nothing then but general Expressions of his Favour, and Promises of Duty on the Bishops part. Whereupon they all desired the Archbishop to beg a second Admission, which was appointed on *Tuesday* the 2d. of *October*, but was put off till the next day.

The 28th of *September* his Majesty put out this following Declaration.

September.

WE have received undoubted Advice, That a great and sudden invasion from *Holland* with an armed Force of Foreigners and Strangers, will speedily be made in an hostile manner upon this Our Kingdom; and altho' some false Pretences relating to Liberty, Property and Religion, contrived or worded with Art and Subtilty, may be given out (as shall be thought useful upon such an Attempt) it is manifest however (considering the great Preparations that are making) that no less matter by this Invasion is propos'd, than an absolute Conquest of these Our Kingdoms, and the utter subduing and subjecting Us, and all Our People, to a foreign Power, which is promoted (as We understand, altho' it may seem almost incredible) by some of Our Subjects, being persons of wicked and restless Spirits, implacable Malice, and desperate Designs, who having no sense of former intestine Distractions, the Memory and Misery whereof should endear, and put a value upon that Peace and Happiness which hath long been enjoyed; nor being moved by Our reiterated Acts of Grace and Mercy, wherein we have studied and delighted to abound towards all Our Subjects, and even towards those who were once avowed and open Enemies, and who do again endeavour to imbroider this Kingdom in Blood and Ruine to gratifie their own Ambition and Malice, proposing to themselves a Prey and Booty in such a publick Confusion.



We cannot omit to make it known, that altho' We had notice some time since, that a foreign force was preparing against Us, yet We have always declined any foreign Succours, but rather have chosen (next under God) to rely upon the true and ancient Courage, Faith and Allegiance of our own People, with whom we have often ventur'd Our life for the honour of this Nation, and in whose defence against all Enemies We are firmly resolved to live and die: And therefore We solemnly conjure Our Subjects to lay aside all manner of Animosities, Jealousies and Prejudices, and heartily and chearfully to unite together in the defence of Us and their native Country, which thing alone will (under God) defeat and frustrate the principal Hope and Design of Our Enemies, who expect to find Our People divided, and by publishing

publishing perhaps some plausible Reasons of their coming *September.*
hither, as the specious, tho' false pretences of maintaining
the Protestant Religion, or asserting the Liberties and Pro-
perties of Our People, do hope thereby to conquer this great
and renowned Kingdom: But albeit the design hath been
carried on with all imaginable Secresie and Endeavour to
surprize and deceive Us, We have not been wanting on our
part, to make such Provisions as did become Us, and by
Gods Blessing, We make no doubt of being found in so good
a Posture, that Our Enemies may have cause to repent such
their rash and unjust Attempt.

We did intend (as we lately declared) to have met our
Parliament in *November* next, and the Writs are issued forth
accordingly, proposing to Our selves, amongst other things,
that We might be able to quiet the minds of all Our People
in matters of Religion, pursuant to the several *Declarations*
We have published to that effect; but in regard of this strange
and unreasonable Attempt from our Neighbouring Country
(*without any manner of Provocation*) design'd to divert Our
said Gracious Purposes, We find it necessary to recall Our
said Writs, which We do hereby recall accordingly, com-
manding and requiring Our loving Subjects to take notice
thereof, and to surcease all further proceedings thereon. And
forasmuch as the approaching Danger which now is at
hand, will require a great and vigorous Defence, We do
hereby strictly charge and command all Our loving Sub-
jects both by Sea and Land (whose ready Concurrence, Va-
lour and Courage, as true *English-men*, We no way doubt in
a just cause) to be prepared to defend their Country. And
We do hereby require and command all Lords-Lieutenants,
and Deputy-Lieutenants, to use their best and utmost endea-
vours to resist, repel, and suppress Our Enemies who come
with such Confidence and great Preparations to invade and
conquer these Our Kingdoms. And lastly, We do most expres-
ly and strictly enjoin and prohibit all and every Our Subjects
of what degree or condition soever, from giving any manner
of Aid, Assistance, Countenance or Succor, or from having
or holding any Correspondence with these Our Enemies, or
any of their Complices, upon pain of High Treason, and be-
ing prosecuted and proceeded against with the utmost severi-
ty. *Given at Our Court at Whitehall the 28 of Septemb. 1688.*

September.

The Reader may be pleased to observe, that foreign Forces, which must be *French*, were declined; which implies they were proffered, and perhaps it had been never the worse for them, if the *Irish*, which considering their Religion and temper towards the *English*, are as much Foreigners as the *French*, had been declined too; for we shall see they did him much Mischief, and little or no Service. 2. That the meeting of the Parliament was discharged before ever there was any mention of restoring the Charters of the Corporations.

September the 30. his Grace the Duke of Newcastle, the Earl of Lindsey, the Earl of Derby, and the Lord Germyns, and others of the Nobility were said to have offered their Service to his Majesty, and several of them had Commissions sent to them to raise men in their Countries. None of these, and very few other of the Nobility or Gentry coming up, but only sending Letters, which were now thought wonderful Obligations, so dreadful was the thought of the Invasion at Court, and so great the discontent of the whole Body of the Nation for the late Transactions.

October.

On Tuesday the 2d. of October the King declared publickly in Council, that he would restore the Charter of the City of London; so that the next day the Bishops turned that Request into Thanks, for having prevented their Petition.

The Ministers by this time became so sensible of their Danger, and of the temper of the Nation, that the 2d. day of October they procured a General Pardon, in the beginning of which are these words; *It has always been our earnest Desire since Our Accession to the Crown, that all Our People should live at ease, and in full enjoyment of Peace and Happiness under Our Government, and nothing can be more agreeable unto Us, than that Offenders should be reformed by Acts of Mercy extended towards them, rather than Punishment; Our open Enemies having upon Repentance found Our Favour; and altho' besides Our particular Pardons which have been granted to many Persons, it be not long since We issued forth Our Royal Proclamation of General Pardon to all our People; yet forasmuch as they who live most peaceably, do often fall within the reach of some of Our Laws, &c.* Besides the usual Exceptions, were excepted all Treasons committed or done in the parts beyond the Seas, or any other place out of this our Realm, and by name Robert Parsons, Edward Matthews, Samuel Venner, Andrew Fletcher, Colonel John Rumsey, Major John Mauley, Isaac Manley,

Manley, Francis Charleton, Esq; John Wildman, Esq; Titus Oats, Robert Ferguson, Gilbert Burnet, Sir Robert Peyton, Laurence Braddon, Samuel Johnson Clerk, Thomas Tripping, Esq; and Sir Rowland Guynne. October.

The Pardon here hinted at, came out some few days before this; and in that all Corporations and Bodies Politicks were excepted, which looked so like a design against the Bishops, Deans and Colledges, that it was taken notice of; and this new Pardon sent after the former to shew the World the Ministers were only a little too intent upon their own security (as they had most need of this Pardon) that they never thought of the other.

On Wednesday, October the 3d. the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishops of London, Winchester, Asaph, Ely, Chichester, Rochester, Bath and Wells, and Peterborough, all in a Body waited upon the King, when the Archbishop spoke thus to him.

May it please Your Sacred Majesty,

When I had lately the Honour to wait upon you, you were pleased briefly to acquaint me with what had passed two days before between your Majesty and these my Reverend Brethren: by which, and by the Account which they themselves gave me, I perceived, that in truth, there passed nothing, but in very general Terms and Expressions of your Majesties gracious and favourable Inclinations to the Church of England, and of our reciprocal Duty and Loyalty to your Majesty: Both which were sufficiently understood and declared before; and (as one of my Brethren then told you) would have been in the same state, if the Bishops had not stir'd one foot out of their Diocesses. Sir, I found it grieved my Lords the Bishops to have come so far, and to have done so little; and I am assured they came then prepared to have given your Majesty some more particular Instances of their Duty and Zeal for your Service, had they not apprehended from some words which fell from your Majesty, That you were not then at leisure to receive them. It was for this Reason that I then besought your Majesty to command us once more to attend you all together, which your Majesty was pleased graciously to allow and encourage. We therefore are here now before you, with all Humility, to beg your Permission, that we may suggest to your Majesty such Advices as we think proper at this Season, and conducing to your Service, and so leave them

The Bishop of
Bath & Wells.

October. *to your Princely Consideration. Which the King being graciously pleased to permit, the Archbishop proceeded as followeth.*

I. *Our first humble Advice is, That your Majesty will be graciously pleased to put the Management of your Government, in the several Counties, into the Hands of such of the Nobility and Gentry there, as are legally qualified for it.*

II. *That your Majesty will be graciously pleased to annul your Commission for Ecclesiastical Affairs; and that no such Court as that Commission sets up, may be erected for the future.*

III. *That your Majesty will graciously be pleased, That no Dispensation may be granted or continued, by Virtue whereof, any person not duly qualified by Law, hath been, or may be put into any Place, Office, or Preferment in Church or State, or in the Universities, or continued in the same, especially such as have Cure of Souls annexed to them; and in particular, that you will be graciously pleased to restore the President and Fellows of St. Mary Magdalen Colledge in Oxford.*

IV. *That your Majesty will graciously be pleased to set aside all Licenses or Faculties already granted; by which any persons of the Romish Communion may pretend to be enabled to teach Publick Schools; and that no such be granted for the future.*

V. *That your Majesty will be graciously pleased to desist from the Exercise of such a Dispensing Power, as hath of late been used; and to permit that Point to be freely and calmly debated and argued, and finally settled in Parliament.*

VI. *That your Majesty will be graciously pleased to inhibit the four Foreign Bishops, who stile themselves Vicars Apostolical, from further invading the Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction which is by Law vested in the Bishops of this Church.*

VII. *That your Majesty will be pleased graciously to fill the vacant Bishopricks, and other Ecclesiastical Promotions within your Gift, both in England and Ireland, with men of Learning and Piety; and in particular (which I must own to be my peculiar boldness, for 'tis done without the privity of my Brethren) That you will be graciously pleased forthwith to fill the Archiepiscopal Chair of York (which hath so long stood empty, and upon which a whole Province depends) with some very worthy Person: For which (pardon me, Sir, if I am bold to say) you have now here before you a very fair Choice.*

VIII. *That*

VIII. *That your Majesty will be graciously pleased to supersede all further Prosecution of Quo Warranto's against Corporations, and to restore to them their ancient Charters, Priviledges, and Franchises, as we hear God hath put into your Majesties Heart to do for the City of London, which we intended to have made otherwise one of our principal Requests.*

IX. *That if it so please your Majesty, Writs may be issued out with convenient speed, for the calling of a free and regular Parliament, in which the Church of England may be secured according to the Acts of Uniformity; Provision may be made for a due Liberty of Conscience, and for securing the Liberties and Properties of all your Subjects; and a mutual Confidence and good Understanding may be established between your Majesty and all your People.*

X. *Above all, That your Majesty will be graciously pleased to permit your Bishops to offer you such Motives and Arguments as (we trust) may, by God's Grace, be effectual to perswade your Majesty to return to the Communion of the Church of England, into whose most holy Catholick Faith you were baptized, and in which you were educated, and to which it is our daily earnest Prayer to God, that you may be re-united.*

These, Sir, are the humble Advices, which out of Conscience of the Duty we owe to God, to your Majesty, and to our Country, we think fit at this time to offer to your Majesty, as suitable to the present State of your Affairs, and most conducing to your Service; and so to leave them to your Princely Consideration. And we heartily beseech Almighty God, in whose hand the Hearts of all Kings are, so to dispose and govern yours, that in all your Thoughts, Words and Works, you may ever seek his Honour and Glory, and study to preserve the People committed to your Charge, in Wealth, Peace and Godliness, to your own both temporal and eternal Happiness. Amen.

We do heartily concur *W. Cant.*

Fran. Ely.

Jo. Cicestr.

H. London, Tho. Roffen.

P. Winchester. Tho. Bath & Wells.

W. Asaph. Tho. Petriburg.

We

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* Dutch Design Anatomized, p. 29. The Bishops Proposals are the contrivance of the King's Enemies, framed of purpose to amuse the people, as if till they be granted, we are not safe.

We may guess at the Rages the Priests were in at these Advices, by the resentment they * expressed afterwards against these innocent and good Proposals, when their Affairs were in a much worse state than now they were. The Bishop of *Rocheſter* observes, that they were drawn at *Lambeth* on *Monday*, the first of *October*, and presented the third; and the Prince of *Orange's* Declaration was signed in *Holland* the tenth, New Style, which was the first of our Month, and the matter of them is very near the same, except one or two particulars, too high for Subjects to meddle with; and all this at a time when the King thought of nothing but Victory, when, in all probability, he was the strongest both at Sea and Land, when as yet there was no appearance of such a Prodigious alienation of his Subjects Affections; when at least his Army was thought to be still firm to him, and when the very Winds and Seas seemed hitherto as much on his side as they all afterwards turned against him.

October the 5th, two days after the Bishops had made the Ten famous Proposals above-recited, the King declared in Council, That in pursuance of his Resolution and Intentions to protect the Church of *England*, and that all Suspicions and Jealousies to the contrary may be removed, he had thought fit to dissolve the Commission for Causes Ecclesiastical, &c. and accordingly did give Directions to the Lord Chancellor of *England* to cause the same to be forthwith done. Now this was only half what was asked; it not being declared illegal, nor any Promise made, so soon as ever the times would serve, it should not be renewed: And we shall see the Jesuits were champing on it bye and bye.

The 6th. of *October* the King was also graciously pleased to restore to the City of *London* all their ancient Franchises and Privileges, as fully as they enjoyed them before the late Judgment upon the *Quo Warranto*; and the Lord Chancellor did them the honour to bring down the Instrument of Restitution and Confirmation, under the Great Seal of *England*. And Sir *John Chapman* was thereby constituted Lord Mayor till the time of Election, and was accordingly sworn in the Guild-hall with the usual Solemnity.

The same day the Aldermen (now in being) that were at the time of the said Judgment took their former Places, and the

the Vacancies were to be supplied by the Election of the Citizens, according to the Ancient Custom of the City.

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And an Address of Thanks was forthwith voted and signed for the Favour granted to them.

October the 10th. his Majesty having received several Complaints of great Abuses committed in the late Regulations of the Corporations, he thereupon in Council thought fit to authorize and require the Lords Lieutenants of the several Counties to inform themselves of all such Abuses and Irregularities, within their Lieutenancies, and to make forthwith Report thereof to his Majesty, together with what they conceive fit to be done for the redressing of the same: Whereupon he would give such further Orders as should be requisite. But pressing News coming over from time to time of the great Preparations in *Holland*, these slow Methods soon appeared unsafe, and not fit to be relied upon; and therefore it became necessary to throw up at once this great and beloved Advantage, now it was utterly impossible to keep it any longer. By all which we may observe, that all was pure Force and Fear; and it will appear more fully in what is to follow.

The 11th. of *October* there was publish'd a Form of Prayers to be us'd in all Cathedral, Collegiate, and Parochial Churches and Chappels, within this Kingdom, during the time of Publick Apprehensions from the Danger of Invasion, and to be added to the daily Office both Morning and Evening, immediately after the Prayers for the King and the Royal Family. The first of these was a Prayer for Repentance; the second, for the King.

O Almighty God, the blessed and onely Potentate, we offer up our humble Supplications and Prayers to thy Divine Goodness, beseeching thee in this time of Danger to save and protect our most gracious King: Give thy holy Angels charge over him; preserve his Royal Person in Health and Safety; inspire him with Wisdom and Justice in all his Counsels; Prosper all his Undertakings for thy Honour and Service with good Success; Fill his Princely Heart with a Fatherly Care of all his People, and give all his Subjects Grace always to bear Faith and true Allegiance to his Majesty; that both King and People joining together to
D promote

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promote thy Glory, and conscientiously discharging their Duties in their several Stations, may all give thee Thanks and Praise for thy most mighty Protection, and for all other thy great Mercies vouchsafed to us, through Jesus-Christ thy Son our Saviour. Amen.

The third Prayer for Peace and Unity.

O Lord God, our only Hope in time of need ; save and deliver us, we humbly beseech thee, from all those Dangers that threaten us ; Give Peace in our Days, O Lord, if it be thy Will, and prevent the Effusion of Christian Blood in our Land : Reconcile all our Dissentions, and heal all our Breaches : Preserve that holy Religion we profess, together with our Laws and Ancient Government ; and unite us all in unfeigned and universal Charity one towards another, and in one and the same holy Worship and Communion ; that with one Heart and one Mouth we may glorifie thy holy Name, and shew forth thy Praise from Generation to Generation : And this we beg for the sake of Jesus thy beloved, in whom thou art well pleased ; to whom, with thee and the Holy Ghost, be all Honour and Glory now and evermore. Amen.

I am fully persuaded, these Prayers contributed very considerably to the late Revolution, and taught Men they were no more bound to promote any of the late King's Undertakings with their Swords, than with their Prayers, but what tended to the Honour and Service of God : And the very supplicating God to Preserve our Holy Religion, together with our Laws and Ancient Government, necessarily put Men in mind that they had been endangered ; and by whom, was as well known ; and it seemed Nonsense and Hypocrisie to pray to God to preserve these, and in the mean time to aid and assist the Enemies of both to destroy and ruine them.

October the 17th. there was a Proclamation put out for Restoring Corporations to their Ancient Charters, Liberties, Rights, and Franchises, as followeth.

V Hereas We are informed, That several Deeds of Surrender, which have been lately made by several Corporations and Bodies Corporate, of and in Our Cities

October.

‘ Cities and Towns within Our Kingdom of *England*, and
 ‘ Dominion of *Wales*, of their Charters, Franchises, and
 ‘ Privileges, are not yet Recorded or Inroll’d: And that up-
 ‘ on the Proceedings and Rules for Judgment, which have
 ‘ lately been had upon the *Quo Warranto*’s, Judgments are
 ‘ not yet entred upon Record: Whereupon, notwithstanding
 ‘ New Charters have been granted in the Reign of Our late
 ‘ dear Brother, and in Our Reign; which said Deeds (being
 ‘ not Inroll’d nor Recorded) do not amount unto, or in Law
 ‘ make any Surrender of the Charters, Franchises, or Liber-
 ‘ ties therein mentioned: And such of the said Corporations
 ‘ or Bodies Politick against which Rules for Judgment have
 ‘ been made in the Life-time of Our late dear Brother, or
 ‘ since, in Our Court of Kings-Bench (but no Judgments
 ‘ entred upon Record) are not Discorporate or Dissolved,
 ‘ and that it is in Our Power to leave such Corporations in
 ‘ the same State and Condition they were in, and to dis-
 ‘ charge all further Proceedings and Effects that may be of
 ‘ such Rules for Judgments, and Deeds of Surrender: W E
 ‘ do hereby publish and declare, That upon due Search and
 ‘ Examination made, We have satisfaction, that the Deeds of
 ‘ Surrender made by the Corporations and Bodies Politick of
 ‘ the said Cities and Towns, except the Corporations follow-
 ‘ ing (that is to say) *Thetford*, *Nottingham*, *Bridgwater*, *Ludlow*,
 ‘ *Bewdley*, *Beverley*, *Teuksbury*, *Exeter*, *Doncaster*, *Colchester*,
 ‘ *Winchester*, *Launceston*, *Lisderd*, *Plimpton*, *Tregony*, *Plymouth*,
 ‘ *Dunwich*, *St. Ives*, *Fowey*, *East-Looe*, *Camelford*, *West-Looe*, *Tin-*
 ‘ *tegal*, *Penryn*, *Truro*, *Bodmyn*, *Haldleigh*, *Lestwithell* and *Salt-*
 ‘ *ash*, are not inrolled or recorded in any of our Courts: And
 ‘ tho’ Rules for Judgments have passed upon Informations in
 ‘ Nature of a *Quo Warranto*, against the Corporations and
 ‘ Bodies Politick of several Cities and Towns in our said
 ‘ Kingdom and Dominion, yet no Judgments have been or
 ‘ are entred upon Record upon any such Informations, ex-
 ‘ cept against the City of *London*, *Chester*, *Calne*, *St. Ives*,
 ‘ *Pool*, *York*, *Thaxted*, *Llanghour*, and *Malmesbury*. And We
 ‘ of Our meer Grace and Favour being resolved to restore and
 ‘ put all our Cities, Towns, and Burroughs in *England* and
 ‘ *Wales*, and also Our Town of *Berwick upon Tweed*, into the
 ‘ same State and Condition they were and was in Our late

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' dear Brothers Reign, before any Deed of Surrender was
' made of their Charters or Franchises, or Proceedings against
' them, or the Corporations or Bodies Politick in or of the
' said Cities, Towns, or Burroughs, upon any *Quo Warranto*,
' or Information in nature of a *Quo Warranto*, had.

' We do therefore hereby publish, declare, direct, and re-
' quire, That the said Corporations and Bodies Politick and
' Corporate, of all the said Cities, Towns, and Burroughs,
' whose Deeds of Surrender are not Inrolled, nor Judgments
' entred against them as aforesaid, and the Mayors, Bailiffs,
' Sheriffs, Aldermen, Common-council-men, Assistants, Re-
' corders, Town-clerks, Magistrates, Ministers, Officers,
' Free-men, and all and every others the Members of or in
' every of them respectively, upon the Publication of this
' Our Proclamation, take on them and proceed to act as a
' Corporation or Body Politick; and where Places are va-
' cant by Death, or otherwise, to make Elections, constitute,
' and fill up the same, (notwithstanding the usual Days and
' Times of Elections, by the Ancient Charters and Consti-
' tutions, shall happen to be past) and to do and execute and
' perform all and every Matter and Thing as they lawfully
' might and ought to have done, if no such Deeds of Sur-
' render, Rules for Judgment, or other Proceedings upon any
' such *Quo Warranto's* or Informations had been had or made.
' And for the better effecting Our said Intention, We have
' by Order made by Us in Council, and under Our Sign Ma-
' nual; and We do also by this Our Proclamation, made
' with the Advice of Our said Council, discharge, remove, and
' dismiss all and every Person and Persons, of and from all
' Offices and Places of Mayors, Bailiffs, Sheriffs, Aldermen,
' Common-council-men, Assistants, Recorder, Town-clerk,
' and all and every Office and Place, which they or any of
' them have or claim only by Charter, Patent, or Grant
' from Our dear Brother, or from Our Self, since the Dates
' of the respective Deeds of Surrender or Rules of Judgment;
' except such Corporations whose Deeds of Surrender are In-
' rolled, or against whom Judgment is entred; and that all
' and every such Person and Persons deliver up into the
' Hands of the said Persons hereby appointed and intended
' to act and execute the said Offices and Places, all and every
' the

the Charters, Records, Books, Evidences, and Matters concerning the said Corporations.

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And We do hereby further publish and declare, That We have caused all and every the said Deeds of Surrender which can be found, to be delivered and put into the Hands of Our Attorney-General, to be by him cancell'd, and returned to the Corporations and Bodies Politick of the respective Cities and Towns whom they concern; and have also given to Our said Attorney Authority, and do hereby Warrant and Command him, not only not to proceed or enter Judgment upon the said *Quo Warranto's* or Informations in nature of a *Quo Warranto*, or any of them, but to enter upon the respective Records *Noli Prosequi's* and Legal Discharges thereof. And We do hereby publish and declare Our further Grace and Favour to the said Cities, Corporations, and Burroughs, at any time hereafter, by any further Act, to grant, confirm, or restore unto them all their Charters, Liberties, Franchises, and Privileges that at the respective times of such Deeds of Surrender or Rules for Judgment made or given, they held or enjoyed. And in order to the perfecting Our said Gracious Intentions, We do hereby likewise publish and declare Our Royal Will and Pleasure for and concerning the Restoring to such Our Cities, Corporations, and Burroughs, within our said Kingdom and Dominion, which have made Deeds of Surrender, or have had Judgment given against them, which Surrenders and Judgments are entred of Record, That Our Chancellor, Attorney-General, and Solicitor-General, without Fees to any Officer or Officers whatsoever, upon Application to them made, shall, and they are hereby required to prepare and pass Charters, Instruments, Grants, and Letters-Patents, for the Incorporating, Re-granting, Confirming, and Restoring to all and every the said Cities, Corporations, and Burroughs, their respective Charters, Liberties, Rights, Franchises, and Privileges, and for restoring the respective Mayors, Bailiffs, Recorders, Sheriffs, Town-clerks, Aldermen, Common-council-men, Assistants, Officers, Magistrates, Ministers, and Free-men, as were of such Cities, Corporations, and Burroughs, at the time of such Deeds of Surrender or Judgments respectively given or had, and for
the

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‘ the putting them into the same State, Condition, and Plight
 ‘ they were in at the times of such Deeds of Surrender, or
 ‘ Judgment made or given. And whereas divers Burroughs
 ‘ that were not heretofore Corporations, have since the
 ‘ Year 1679. had Charters of Incorporation granted and
 ‘ passed unto them; We hereby further expresse and declare
 ‘ Our Royal Pleasure, to determine and annul the said last-
 ‘ mentioned Charters and Corporations: And to that end,
 ‘ We have in pursuance to the Power reserved in the said
 ‘ Charters, by Our Order in Council, and under Our Sign
 ‘ Manual, removed and discharged, and We do also by this
 ‘ Our Proclamation, made with the Advice of our said Coun-
 ‘ cil, remove and discharge all and every Person of or in
 ‘ the said last-mentioned Corporations, of and from all Offi-
 ‘ ces and Places of Mayors, Bailiffs, Recorders, Sheriffs, Al-
 ‘ dermen, Common-council-men, Assistants, and of and from
 ‘ all and every other Office and Place from which We have
 ‘ Power reserved by the said Charters respectively to remove
 ‘ or discharge them. And We do hereby promise and de-
 ‘ clare, That We will do and consent to all such Acts, Mat-
 ‘ ters, and Things as shall be necessary to render these Our
 ‘ Gracious Intentions and Purposes effectual: *It being Our*
 ‘ *Gracious Intention to call a Parliament as soon as the General*
 ‘ *Disturbance of Our Kingdom by the intended Invasion, will ad-*
 ‘ *mit thereof.*

Given at *Whitehall.*

It was necessary to transcribe this long Piece, to shew what an hurry of Confusion the Nation was then in, and how reasonable it was for the Bishops in their Seventh Proposal to desire the Restitution of all these Corporations and Burroughs to their Ancient State, without which (as things had been carried of late especially) it was altogether impossible a Free and Legal Parliament should be holden.

The 12th. of *October* his Majesty having declared his Resolution to preserve the Church of *England* in all its Rights and Immunities, as an Evidence of it, signified his Pleasure to the Right Reverend Father in God the Lord Bishop of *Winchester*, as Visitor of *St. Mary Magdalen College* in *Oxford*, to settle that Society Regularly and Statutably, who
 accordingly

accordingly caused the 16th. of that Month a Citation to be fixed up on the College Gates, to recal Dr. *Hough* and the former Fellows of that Society, by the second of *November* following: And he accordingly went down to reinstate them, and was joyfully received by the University; but an Account coming that very Post, that the *Dutch* Fleet had suffered very much in a Storm the 16th. of the same Month N. S. and that they would hardly be able to sail till the Spring, his Lordship was recalled to *London*, and the Restitution put off. But soon after that false News being contradicted, the Affection to the Church of *England* revived, and the 24th. of *October* he returned, and went thorow with the Work.

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The 20th. of *October* we had the Favour of the following Proclamation bestowed upon us.

‘ **F**Orasmuch as the great Preparations made to invade and
 ‘ conquer this Our Kingdom, require Our utmost Care
 ‘ in providing for the necessary Safety and Defence thereof,
 ‘ wherein we resolve (thro’ God’s Assistance) not to be want-
 ‘ ing; and to the intent that Our Enemies, who will bring
 ‘ the heavy and sad Calamities of War, may not strengthen
 ‘ themselves at their coming hither, by seizing the Horses,
 ‘ Oxen, and Cattel of any of Our Subjects, which may be
 ‘ useful and serviceable to them for Burthen and Draught:
 ‘ We have therefore thought fit, and We do here by this
 ‘ Our Royal Proclamation (published by and with the Ad-
 ‘ vice of Our Privy Council) strictly charge and command
 ‘ all and every the Lords Lieutenants and Deputy-Lieutenants
 ‘ of Our respective Counties adjoining to the Sea, and all She-
 ‘ riffs, Justices of Peace, Mayors, Bailiffs, and all and every
 ‘ other Officers and Ministers Civil and Military, within their
 ‘ respective Counties, Cities, Towns, and Divisions, That
 ‘ they cause the Coasts to be carefully watched, and upon
 ‘ the first approach of the Enemy, to cause all Horses, Ox-
 ‘ en, and Cattel which may be fit for Burthen or Draught,
 ‘ and not actually employed in the Defence and Service of
 ‘ Us and the Country, to be driven and removed by the
 ‘ space of at least Twenty miles from the Place where the
 ‘ Enemy shall attempt to Land, and to secure the same in
 ‘ such

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‘such effectual manner, that they may not fall into the hands
‘or power of any of Our Enemies : Wherein nevertheless it
‘is Our Will and Pleasure that the respective owners may suf-
‘fer as little damage and loss as may be consistent with the
‘great and publick safety of the Kingdom.

The same day the Earl of *Oxford*, who had but a short time before been turned out of the Lieutenantcy of *Essex* for refusing to consent to the Repeal of the Penal Laws and Tests, was restored to the said Office, as several others were about the same time.

The 22^d. of *October* his Majesty ordered the Council to be assembled, and desired the *Queen Dowager*, and such of the Peers of this Kingdom, both Spiritual and Temporal, as were in Town, as also the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of *London*, and the Judges, and several of their Majesties Council learned in the Law, and the Ladies, Lords, and others that were present at the Queen’s Labour, did appear there, and declare upon Oath what they knew of the Birth of his Royal Highness the Prince of *Wales* (as he was then call’d) of all which a full and particular Relation was then promised to be published, as was soon after done ; but then those Depositions are too well known to need, and too long to be here inserted without cause : They have since been examined by another Pen, and therefore I may the better pass them by, when I have put this short question, Why were they so long delay’d, and to what purpose were they now published ? Why, they had received intelligence that the Troops were now on Shipboard, and that the Prince of *Orange* would embark himself so soon as the Ships from the *Texel* have joyn’d with those in the *Maes*.

The Nation was by this time exasperated and fermented to that height against the Court and the Popish party, that all places were fill’d with Reports and Whispers to their Disadvantage, many of which were false, and some ridiculous and impossible, which yet were then greedily swallowed, and industriously spread and promoted ; the Authors of them being utterly unknown, and doing it on various accounts, some out of meer Wantonness and Banter ; others out of Spite, Design, and Aversion. And there can be nothing more unreasonable

reasonable than to expect his now Majesty should be obliged to prove all the silly Stories were then spread abroad by those who pretended to favour his Interest, but did in reality rather mischief than good to him. To put a stop to these Rumours, the 26. of *October* this following Proclamation was published.

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‘**A**Ltho’ since Our Accession to the Crown, We have graciously extended Our Royal Mercy and Clemency to Our Subjects by several General Pardons, one whereof was lately published ; yet we are sensible that divers evil disposed persons being not reformed or wrought upon by such Our Grace and Favour, do notwithstanding make it their business by Writing, Printing or, Speaking, to defame Our Government with false and seditious News and Reports, thereby intending to amuse Our loving Subjects, and as far as they are able, to create in them an universal Jealousie and Discontent, especially in this time of publick Danger threatened by the intended Invasion upon this our Kingdom, and consequently to alienate the Hearts of such of Our loving Subjects from Us, who otherwise would readily yield unto Us that Aid and Assistance which by their Natural Allegiance they are bound to do: And whereas by the ancient Laws and Statutes of this Realm, great and heavy Penalties are inflicted upon all such as shall be found to be Spreaders of false News, or Promoters of any malicious Slanders and Calumnies in their ordinary and common Discourse, or otherwise; and more especially upon such who shall utter, or publish any words or things to incite or stir up the People to hatred or dislike of Our Person, or the established Government: Notwithstanding which, there have been of late more bold and licentious Discourses than formerly, and men have assumed to themselves a liberty, not only in *Coffee houses*, but in other Places and Meetings both publick and private, to censure and defame the Proceedings of State, by speaking evil of things they understand not: We therefore considering that Offences of this nature proceed from the restless Malice of evil Persons, or from the careless Demeanour of others, who presume too much upon Our accustomed Clemency and Goodness, have therefore thought fit by this Our Royal Proclamation, by and with the Advice of Our Privy-Council,

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‘streightly to forewarn, and command all Our Subjects of
‘what estate or condition they be, that they presume not hence-
‘forth, either by Writing, Printing, or Speaking, to utter or
‘publish any false News or Reports whatsoever, or to inter-
‘meddle with the Affairs of State or Government, or with
‘the Persons of any of Our Counsellors or Ministers, in their
‘common and ordinary Discourses, as they will answer the
‘contrary at their utmost perils.

‘And because all bold and irreverent Speeches touching
‘matters of high nature, and all malicious and false Reports
‘tending to Sedition, or to the Amusement of Our People,
‘are punishable not only in the Speakers, but in the Hearers
‘also, unless they do speedily reveal the same unto some of
‘Our Privy-Council, or some other of Our Judges or Justices
‘of the Peace: Therefore that all persons may be left with-
‘out excuse, who shall not hereafter contain themselves with-
‘in that modest and dutiful Regard which becomes them,
‘We do further declare, that We will proceed with all Seve-
‘rity and Rigor against all such persons who shall be guilty
‘of any such malicious and unlawful Practices, by Writing,
‘Printing, or other Publication of such false News and Re-
‘ports, or who shall receive or hear the same without reveal-
‘ing or giving Information thereof, as aforesaid, in due time:
‘We being resolved to suppress the said Enormities by a most
‘strict and exemplary Punishment of all such Offenders, as
‘shall hereafter be discovered. And We do hereby strictly
‘charge and command all and singular Our Judges, Justices
‘of the Peace, Sheriffs, Mayors, Bailiffs, and all other Our
‘Officers and Ministers whatsoever, to take effectual care for
‘the speedy Apprehension, Prosecution, and severe Punish-
‘ment of all such persons who shall at any time hereafter be
‘found Offenders herein.

This Proclamation rather increased the Aversion men then
generally had for the Government; and there were very few
who did not presently reflect on *Faber Pire*, who was then
one of the Privy-Council, as fitter to be hang’d, than reverenc’d;
but they were then under Hatches, and must comply, and for
two or three days News was wondrous scarce; but then they
fell to it again with so much the greater liberty, the publick ha-
tred

ted prevailing over their Fear, as the day of their wished Redemption grew nearer. But however, the Roman Catholicks from this time forward were studiously avoided, no man fearing any trouble from any body else, as in truth I never heard of any man that was prosecuted on this account.

October.

The 28th. of *October* the Earl of *Sunderland* was removed from the Office of Principal Secretary of State, and the Lord Viscount *Preston* put in his room: This Change pleased all men, but it came too late.

As the Cause of the Dismission of the Earl of *Sunderland* was then wholly unknown, so it gave occasion to the reviving a Report that had been spread not long before, upon the Imprisonment of Sir *Bevil Skelton* the *English* Ambassador in *France*, that there had lately been a League concluded between the King of *England* and *France*, for the Extirpation of the *Protestant Religion* here, and the establishing *Popery and Arbitrary Government*; to which end the *French King* was (as was said) to send a considerable Army, and great Sums of Money into *England*; and as it was before pretended, that *Skelton* being a *Protestant*, had discovered this Transaction to the Prince of *Orange*: So it was now said, *Sunderland* had lost the Original League out of his *Scritore*, and that it was carried over to the Prince of *Orange*, who would produce it to the Parliament of *England*. But since that the Earl of *Sunderland* has published a Letter, wherein he has given a larger Account of the true Cause of his being laid aside, than is any where else to be met with; and therefore I think it reasonable to add it here.

The Earl of Sunderland's Letter to a Friend in London, published March 23d. 1689.

TO comply with what you desire, I will explain some things which we talked of before I left *England*. I have been in a Station of a great noise, without Power or Advantage whilst I was in it, and to my Ruin now I am out of it. I know I cannot justifie my self by saying, though it is true, that I thought to have prevented much Mischief;

October. for when I found that I could not, I ought to have quitted the Service; neither is it an Excuse that I have got none of those things which usually engage men in publick Affairs: My Quality is the same it ever was, and my Estate much worse, even ruin'd, tho' I was born to a very considerable one, which I am ashamed to have spoiled, tho' not so much as if I had encreased it by indirect means. But to go on to what you expect: The pretence to a Dispensing Power being not only the first thing which was much disliked since the death of the late King, but the foundation of all the rest, I ought to begin with that which I had so little to do with, that I never heard it spoken of till the time of *Monmouth's* Rebellion, that the King told some of the Council of which I was one, that he was resolved to give Employments to Roman Catholicks, it being fit that all persons should serve who could be useful, and on whom he might depend. I think every body advised him against it, but with little effect, as was soon seen: That Party was so well pleased with what the King had done, that they perswaded him to mention it in his Speech at the next meeting of the Parliament, which he did, after many Debates whether it was proper or not; in all which I opposed it, as is known to very considerable Persons, some of which were of another opinion; for I thought it would engage the King too far, and it did give such offence to the Parliament, that it was thought necessary to prorogue it; *after which, the King fell immediately to the supporting the Dispensing Power, the most Chimerical thing that was ever thought of, and must be so till the Government here is as absolute as in Turkey, all Power being included in that one.* This is the sense I ever had of it, and when I heard Lawers defend it, I never changed my Opinion or Language; however it went on, most of the Judges being for it, and was the chief business of the State, till it was looked on as settled. Then the Ecclesiastical Court was set up, in which there being so many considerable men of several kinds, I could have but a small part; and that after Lawyers had told the King it was legal, and nothing like the High Commission Court, I can most truly say, and it is well known that for a good while I defended *Magdalen Colledge* purely by care and industry, and have hundreds of times begg'd of the King never to grant *Mandates*, or to change any thing in the regular

regular course of Ecclesiastical Affairs, which he often thought reasonable, and then by perpetual Importunities was prevailed upon against his own sense; which was the very case of *Magdalen Colledge*, as of some others.

October.

These things which I endeavoured, though without Success, drew upon me the Anger and Ill-will of many about the King. The next thing to be try'd, was to take off the Penal Laws and the Tests, so many having promised their concurrence towards it, that his Majesty thought it feasible; but he soon found it was not to be done by that Parliament, which made all the Catholicks desire it might be dissolv'd, which I was so much against, that they complained of me to the King, as a man who ruined all his Designs by opposing the only thing could carry them on; Liberty of Conscience being the Foundation on which he was to build. That it was first offered at by the Lord *Clifford*, who by it had done the work, even in the late King's time, if it had not been for his weakness, and the weakness of his Ministers: Yet I hindered the Dissolution several Weeks, by telling the King that the Parliament in Being would do every thing he could desire, but the taking off the Penal Laws and the Tests, or the allowing his Dispensing Power, and that any other Parliament, tho' such a one could be had as was proposed, would probably never repeal those Laws; and if they did, they would certainly never do any thing for the support of the Government, whatever exigency it might be in. At that time the King of *Spain* was sick, upon which I said often to the King, that if he should die, it would be impossible for his Majesty to preserve the peace of Christendom, that a War must be expected, and such a one as would chiefly concern *England*; and that if the present Parliament continued, he might be sure of all the help and service he could wish; but in case he dissolv'd it, he must give over all thoughts of foreign Affairs, for no other would ever assist him, but on such terms as would ruine the Monarchy; so that from abroad, or at home, he would be destroy'd, if the Parliament were broken, and any accident should happen, of which there were many, to make the aid of his People necessary to him. This and much more I said to him several times privately, and in the hearing of others. But being over-power'd, the Parliament was broke,

the

October

the Closetting went on, and a new one was to be chosen, who was to get by closetting, I need not say; but it was certainly not I, nor any of my Friends; many of them suffered, who I would fain have saved, and yet I must confess with grief, that when the King was resolv'd, and there was no remedy, I did not quit, as I ought to have done, but served on in order to the calling another Parliament. In the midst of all the preparations for it, and whilst the Corporations were regulating, the King thought fit to order his Declarations to be read in all Churches, of which I most solemnly protest, I never heard one word, till the King directed it in Council, that drew on the Petition of my Lord the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the other Lords the Bishops, and their Prosecution, which I was so openly against, that by arguing continually to shew the Injustice and the Imprudence of it, I brought the Fury of the *Roman Catholics* upon me to such a degree, and so unanimously, that I was just sinking, and I wish I had then sunk; but whatever I did foolishly to preserve my self, I continued still to be the Object of their hatred, and I resolv'd to serve the publick as well as I could, which I am sure most of the considerable Protestants then at Court can testify; and so can one very eminent man of the Country, whom I would have perswaded to come into business, which he might have done, to have helped me to resist the violence of those in power; but he despaired of being able to do any good, and therefore would not engage. Sometime after came the first News of the Prince's designs, which were not then look'd on as they have proved, no body foreseeing the Miracles he has done by his wonderful Prudence, Conduct, and Courage, for the greatest thing which has been undertaken these thousand years, or perhaps ever, could not be effected without Vertues hardly to be imagined till seen nearer hand. Upon the first thought of his coming I laid hold of the opportunity to press the King to do several things which I would have had done sooner; the chief of which were to restore *Magdalen Colledge*, and all other Ecclesiastical Preferments, which had been diverted from what they were intended for, to take off my Lord Bishop of *London's* Suspension, to put the Counties into the same hands they were in some time before, to annul the Ecclesiastical Court, and to restore entirely all the Corporations of *England*. These

October.

These things were done effectually by the help of some about the King; and it was then thought I had destroyed my self, by enraging again the whole Roman Catholick Party to such a height as had not been seen; they dispersed Libels of me every day, told the King that I betrayed him, that I ruined him by perswading him to make such shameful Condescensions; but most of all by leading the securing the chief of the disaffected Nobility and Gentry, which was proposed as a certain way to break all the Prince's Measures; and by advising his Majesty to call a Free-Parliament, and to depend upon that, rather than upon foreign Assistance. It is true I did give him those Counsels which were called weak to the last moment he suffered me in his Service; then I was accused of holding Correspondence with the Prince, and it was every where said amongst them, That no better could be expected from a man so related as I was to the Bedford and Leicester Families, and so allied to Duke Hamilton, and the Marquis of Halifax. After this Accusations of High Treason were brought against me, which, with some other reasons relating to affairs abroad, drew the Kings displeasure upon me, so as to turn me out of all without any consideration, and yet I thought I escaped well, expecting nothing less than the loss of my head, as my Lord Middleton can tell, and I believe none about the Court thought otherwise; nor had it been otherwise, if my Disgrace had been deferred a day longer, all things being prepared for it, I was put out the 27th. of October; the Roman Catholicks having been two Months working the King up to it, without intermission, besides the several Attacks they had made upon me before, and the unusual assistance they obtained to do what they thought for necessary for the carrying on their Affairs, of which they never had greater hope than at that time; As may be remembered by any who were then at London. But you desire I will say something to you of Ireland, which I will do in very few words, but exactly true. My Lord Tyrconnell has been so absolute there, that I never had the credit to make an Ensign, or keep one in, nor to preserve some of my Friends, from whom I was much concerned, from the last Oppression and Injustice, tho' I endeavoured it to the utmost of my power, but yet with care and diligence, being upon the place, and he absent, I delivered the calling a Parliament

October.

Parliament there, which was designed to alter the Acts of Settlement. Chief Justice *Nugent*, and Baron *Rice* were sent over with a draught of an Act for that purpose, furnished with all the pressing Arguments could be thought on to persuade the King; and I was offered forty thousand pounds for my Concurrence, which I told to the King, and shewed him at the same time the Injustice of what was proposed to him, and the prejudice it would be to that Country, with so good success, that he resolved not to think of it that year, and perhaps never. This I was helped in by some Friends, particularly my Lord *Godolphin* who knows it to be true, and so do the Judges before named, and several others.

I cannot omit saying something of *France*, there having been so much talk of a *League* between the two Kings. I do protest I never knew of any; and if there were such a thing, it was carried on by other sort of men last Summer. Indeed *French* Ships were offered to join with our Fleet, and they were refused, since the noise of the Prince's design more Ships were offered, and it was agreed how they should be commanded, if ever desired. I opposed to death the accepting of them, as well as any assistance of men, and can say most truly, that I was the principal means of hindering both, by the help of some Lords, with whom I consulted every day, and they with me, to prevent what we thought would be of great prejudice, if not ruinous to the Nation. If the Report is true, of Men, Ships, and Money intended lately for *England* out of *France*, it was agreed upon since I was out of business, or without my knowledge; if it had been otherwise, I believe no body thinks my Disgrace would have hapned. My greatest Misfortune has been to be thought the Promoter of those things I opposed and detested, whilst some I could name have been the Inventors and Contrivers of what they have had the Art to lay upon others, and I was often foolishly willing to bear what my Master would have done, tho' I used all possible Entreaties against it. I lie under many other Misfortunes and Afflictions extreme heavy, but I hope they have brought me to reflect on the occasion of them, the loose, negligent, unthinking life I have hitherto led, having been perpetually hurried away from all good Thoughts, by Pleasure, Idleness, the Vanity of the Court, or by Business. I hope, I say, that I shall overcome all

all the disorders my former life had brought upon me, and that I shall spend the remaining part of it in begging of Almighty God, that he will please either to put an end to my sufferings, or to give me strength to bear them; one of which he will certainly grant to such as rely on him, which I hope I do, with the Submission that becomes a good Christian. I would enlarge on this Subject, but that I fear you might think something else to be the reason of it, besides a true sense of my Faults, and that obliges me to restrain my self at present. I believe you will repent in having engaged me to give you this account, but I cannot the doing of what you desire of me.

October.

The 29th. an Account was given, that the *Dutch* Fleet consisting of 52 Men of War, with a very numerous Attendance of Victuallers, and other Ships and Vessels for the Transportation of the Land Forces, sailed the *Friday* before, which was the 19th. from the *Flats* near the *Briel*, with the Wind at S. W. and by S. and the Prince of *Orange* embarkt on a Frigate of 28, or 30 Guns, and with him the Count of *Nassau*, General of the Horse, the Count de *Solmes*, Colonel of his Foot-Guards; the Count de *Stirum*, the *Sieur Benting*, and the *Sieur Cuerkerker*, and the Marshal de *Schomberg* went on board such another Frigate. And the 20th. most of the Fleet was seen in the Morning from *Schevelingue* when the Wind coming more Westerly, and the next Night proving very stormy, it obliged them to come in again, having suffered considerable damage, 400 Horses being thrown over-board, and several dead men, and one of their Men of War was stranded, and another disabled.

N. S.

There was very little of this Story true, but it was a Report set on foot to deceive the Court here, and it had the effect which was expected, and the Priests began to boast very much of the assistance they expected from the *Virgin Mary*, and the rest of the Saints who had been powerfully solicited to confound this Heretical Fleet. The first of *November* we were again told from the *Hague*, that the damage the *Dutch* Fleet had sustain'd by the late Storms, was greater than was at first reported; That there were 1500 Horses dead or unserviceable, That the Prince of *Orange* had lost most of his own Horses, and the Marshal de *Schomberg* the best of his; That his Son Count *Charles Schomberg* was in great danger, the Ship he was in having spent her main Mast;

F

That

October. That a Captain of Horse in the *Sieur Bentin's* Regiment was missing, with his whole Troop; and two Captains of Foot-Guards were likewise missing with their Companies; That to supply these losses a great many fresh Horses were ordered to be sent to the Fleet; and that it was said the Regiment of the *Baron de Frizes* should be imbarkt; That in the mean time the Prince of *Orange* continued at *Helvoetsluys*, intending to sail again so soon as the Fleet was in a condition, and the Weather would permit. Thus was our Court at that time imposed upon for want of good intelligence.

About this time a parcel of the Prince of *Orange's* Declarations were intercepted in *London*, upon reading that expression in it, *That the Prince was most earnestly invited hither by divers of the Lords both Spiritual and Temporal, and by many Gentlemen and others.* The King sent for some of the Bishops again, and required of them a Paper under their hands in abhorrence of the Prince of *Orange's* intended Invasion by such a day; the following Declaration was then in the Press, and this Abhorrence was designed to be tacked to it; but the Bishops of *Canterbury*, *London*, *Peterborough* and *Rochester* (on whom only this Storm fell) refused to do it, as contrary to their privilege of Peerage, and their Profession in promoting a War against a Prince so near ally'd to the Crown; and they earnestly desired this might be left to a Free-Parliament. His Majesty hereupon was very much incensed against them, and parted from them with Indignation. *And thereupon the Jesuited Party at Court were so violently enraged, that as we are credibly informed (saith the Bishop of Rochester) one of the chief advised in a heat, they should all be imprisoned, and the Truth extorted from them by violence.* By which it appears, no Solicitation could force the King to yield to the sitting of a Parliament, whatever hazard he ran.

Second
Letter, pag.
49.

Novemb. The 2d. day of *November* there was published another Proclamation for the suppressing of the Prince of *Orange's* Declaration.

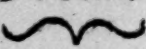
'**W**Hereas the *Prince of Orange* and his Adherents, who design forthwith to invade Our Kingdoms, in order thereunto 'have contrived and framed several treasonable Papers and Declarations, hoping thereby to seduce Our People, and (if it were 'possible) to corrupt our Army, a very great number whereof 'being printed, several persons are sent and employed to disperse the

‘ the same throughout Our Kingdoms: And altho’ all persons (as *Novemb.*
 ‘ well in criminal as in other cases) are bound to take notice of
 ‘ the Laws at their peril ; yet to the intent that none may think
 ‘ to escape due punishment, or to excuse themselves when they
 ‘ shall be detected, by pretending Ignorance of the nature of their
 ‘ Crime, We are graciously pleased by this Our Royal Proclamati-
 ‘ on published, by the Advice of our Privy-Council, to forewarn
 ‘ and admonish all Our Subjects of what degree or quality soever,
 ‘ that they do not publish or disperse, repeat or hand about the
 ‘ said treasonable Papers or Declarations, or any of them, or any
 ‘ other Paper or Papers of such like nature, without discovering
 ‘ and revealing the same as speedily as may be to some of Our
 ‘ Privy-Council, or some of Our Judges, Justices of the Peace, or
 ‘ publick Magistrates, upon peril of being prosecuted according
 ‘ to the utmost severity of the Law.

This Proclamation had the same effect with all the rest of their Counsels, for men suspected thereupon, that there was much more in the Declarations and Papers than they afterwards found, and accordingly became more desirous by far to see it ; and the *Spanish* Ambassador here in *London* gave them (as I have been credibly informed) to whosoever desired them.

For about almost three Weeks together the Wind stood perpetually West ; during all which time the common question was every Morning, *Where is the Wind to day ?* And a Seaman was observed to curse the Dragon in *Cheapside*, for turning his Head where his Tail should be. But in the latter end of *October* the Wind came East, to the great Sorrow of the Roman Catholics, and the Joy of the rest of the Nation. And when all men expected the Invasion would fall on the North, the third of *November* between ten and eleven of the Clock the *Dutch* Fleet was discovered about half Seas over, and about five this numerous Fleet was passed by that Town, steering a Channel-course Westward, the Wind at East North-East, a fresh Gale.

The same day Captain *Aylmer*, Commander of the *Swallow*, brought into the *Downs* a Fly-boat belonging to this Fleet, which had on board four Companies of the Foot of Colonel *Babington’s* Regiment commanded by Major *Colambine*. They said the Prince sail’d from *Goree* on *Thursday* the first of *November*. This Ship had had the misfortune to strike upon a Sand which had torn off her

Novemb  Rudder, without doing her any other damage, so that she was forced to float as the Winds and Seas drove her, and could hold no Course, which was the cause of her being taken: And this small piece of good Fortune turn'd to their disadvantage, men, from the number taken in this Ship, concluding that the Dutch Army was three times as great, as it really was.

By this time they found that the Prince of Orange his Declaration could not be totally suppress'd; and thereupon one of the Scribling Jesuits put out a Pamphlet against it, intituled, *The Dutch Design Anatomized, or the Discovery of the Wickedness and Unjustice of the intended Invasion, and a clear Proof, That it is the Interest of all the King's Subjects to defend his Majesty and their Country against it.* This Author has the Confidence to tell us, *That the forged Heads of the Prince's Declaration, and the Bishops Ten Proposals, are known to be the Contrivance of the King's Enemies, framed on purpose to amuse the People, and make them believe the setting us at rights is the only design of the Dutch; and till those Proposals be granted, we are not safe* (pag. 29.) So that if the design had miscarried, not only the Redress of those Grievances was utterly to be dispaired of, but those that had made them to preserve the King from ruin, were already arraigned for his Enemies, and accordingly to be treated. Page the 39. *If (saith he) out of peevish stubbornness some will sit still, and not assist the King in this juncture, or trayterously joyn with the Invaders, what can they expect from his victorious Arms, but the Punishment due to their Perfidiousness and Cowardice.* So that here was no Mercy for any but those who were very active in the ruine of the Invaders; and by what followed upon the Defeat of the late Duke of Monmouth, all men were able to make an Estimate what would be our Destiny now.

Another of the same Party comes forth soon after in Print, under the Title of *Reflections upon his Highness the Prince of Orange's Declaration*; but then neither of the these were suffered to print the Declaration it self, and therefore what they said of it, was neither regarded, nor believed by any of the Protestants, and served only to exasperate the Nation the more against them.

The 5th. of November the Dutch Fleet passed by Dartmouth, and it being a hazy foggy Morning, and full of Rain, they over-shot Torbay where the Prince intended to land, but about nine of the Clock the Weather cleared up, and the Wind changed W. S. W. and the Fleet stood Eastward, with a moderate Gale, entring
Torbay,

Torbay, and being then about 4 or 500 Sail in Number. This *Novemb.* Change of the Wind was observed by Dr. Burnet to have been of no long duration, but immediately it chopped into another Corner, when it had executed its Commission.

Whilst the Prince was busie Landing his Army in the West, the King puts out here the 6th. of November this following Declaration.

‘ **A** S We cannot consider this Invasion of Our Kingdoms
‘ by the Prince of Orange, without Horror, for so unchri-
‘ stian and unnatural an Undertaking, in a Person so nearly rela-
‘ ted to Us; so it is Matter of the greatest Trouble and Con-
‘ cern to Us, to reflect upon the many Mischiefs and Calami-
‘ ties which an Army of Foreigners and Rebels must unavoida-
‘ bly bring upon Our People. It is but too evident, by a late
‘ Declaration published by him, That notwithstanding the ma-
‘ ny specious and plausible Pretences it carries, *his Designs at the*
‘ *bottom do tend to nothing less than an Absolute Usurping of Our*
‘ *Crown and Royal Authority:* As may fully appear by his assu-
‘ ming to himself in the said Declaration the Regal Style, re-
‘ quiring the Peers of this Realm both Spiritual and Temporal,
‘ and all other Persons of all Degrees, to obey and assist him in
‘ the Execution of his Designs; a Prerogative inseparable from
‘ the Imperial Crown of this Realm. And for a more undeni-
‘ able Proof of his immoderate Ambition, and which nothing
‘ can satisfy but the immediate Possession of the Crown it self,
‘ he calls in question the Legitimacy of the Prince of Wales,
‘ Our Son, and Heir apparent; *tho by the Providence of God,*
‘ *there were present at his Birth so many Witnesses of unquestionable*
‘ *Credit, as if it seem’d to have been the particular Care of Heaven*
‘ *on purpose to disappoint so wicked and unparallel’d an Attempt.*

‘ And in order to the effecting of his Ambitious Designs, he
‘ seems desirous in the Close of his Declaration to submit all to
‘ the Determination of a Free Parliament, hoping thereby to
‘ ingratiate himself with Our People; though nothing is more
‘ evident, than that a Parliament cannot be Free, so long as
‘ there is an Army of Foreigners in the Heart of Our King-
‘ doms; so that in truth he himself is the sole Obstructor of
‘ such a Free Parliament: We being fully resolved, as We have
‘ already declared, so soon as by the Blessing of God Our King-
‘ doms

Novemb. 'doms shall be delivered from this Invasion, to call a Parlia-
 'ment, which can no longer be liable to the least Objection of
 'not being freely chosen, since We have actually restored all
 'the Burroughs and Corporations of this Our Kingdom to their
 'Ancient Rights and Privileges, in which we shall be ready
 'not only to receive and redress all the Just Complaints and
 'Grievances of Our Good Subjects, but also to repeat and con-
 'firm the Assurances We have already given to them in Our se-
 'veral *Declarations*, of Our Resolution by God's Blessing to
 'maintain them in their Religion, their Liberties and Proper-
 'ties, and all other their Just Rights and Privileges whatsoever.
 'Upon these Considerations, and the Obligations of their Duty
 'and Natural Allegiance, we can no ways doubt, but that all
 'Our Faithful and Loving Subjects will readily and heartily
 'concur and joyn with Us in the entire Suppressing and Re-
 'pelling of those Our Enemies, and Rebellious Subjects, who
 'have so injuriously and disloyally invaded and disturbed the
 'Peace and Tranquility of these Our Kingdoms.

All this while the Prince's Declaration was kept in, and few had seen it; but Men had now a general Idea of it. This Declaration in the mean time was pleasing to very few. It was penn'd with too much Spleen and Passion, to create suitable Thoughts in the Hearts of those who had less Interest in the Defeat of the Prince's Army than the R. C's had. The Birth of the Prince of *Wales* being thus worded, made Men smile; and they could presently recollect the Force and Value of the Deposers Evidence, which had now been some time published; but then nothing disgusted the Generality of Men more, than to see the King continue so averse to the holding a Parliament, till the Prince was expell'd out of the Nation, the Consequence of which was notorious. To what end, said they, should we fight, when the Prince of *Orange* offereth at first to submit to a Free Parliament? What, shall we drive him out, that we may never have one that shall sit to do us good? Are the Jesuits such Reverers of Promises, as to regard them when they can chuse? No, let us have a Parliament while the Prince is here to see us have Right, or fight who will for me.

The same 5th. day of *November* an Account was sent from *Brixham*, That about 300 of the *Dutch* Fleet were come into
Torbay;

Torbay; several of which came directly to *Brixham-Key*, and *Novemb.* Landed some Soldiers; and the rest were sending them on Shore in Boats, about 5 or 600 being then Landed; and it was then said the Prince of *Orange* was come on Shore.

This Fleet consisted of 51 Men of War, 18 Fire-ships, and 330 Tenders, for the carriage of Men, Horses, Arms, and Ammunition: At his first Attempt he lost 400 Horse in a Storm, and a Vessel was separated with 400 Foot, which after came back to the *Texel*. Hereupon order was given to the *Harlem* and *Amsterdam* Gazetteers to make a dreadful Representation of this Loss, which had its effect upon our credulous Court. The Fleet was soon got in order again, and sailed the first of *November*: There lay then an *English* Fleet in the *Buoy* and *Nore*, consisting of 34 Sail of Men of War; and there were three in the *Downs*; but the Wind was at E. N. E. and so they could not get out, and they had no mind besides to do it. At his Landing the People in great numbers from the Shore welcom'd his Highness with loud Acclamations of Joy. The first that Landed were six Regiments of *English* and *Scotch*, under *Mackay*, who met with no opposition, but a hearty Welcome, with all manner of Refreshments. Thus the 5th. 6th. and 7th. of *November* were employed in Landing the Army, the Country-men bringing them in Provisions in great plenty.

The 6th. of *November* an Account was sent from *Exeter*, That the Prince of *Orange* was marching towards that City; and they being in no Condition to oppose him, the Bishop of that Diocese thought fit to leave the Town, and to go to *London*; which so pleased the King, that he ordered him to be Translated to the See of *York*, which was then vacant, the 16th. of *November*.

Novemb. November the 7th. the King published this Account of the Forces brought over by the Prince of Orange.

<i>Horse.</i>		<i>Foot.</i>	<i>Companies.</i>
The Life-Guard.		Foot-Guard under Count	} 25
Regiment of Guards command- ed by <i>Benting</i> .		<i>Solmes</i> , 2000	
<i>Waldeck's</i> Regiment.		<i>Mackay</i>	12
<i>Nassau</i> .		<i>Balfort</i>	12
<i>Mompellian</i> .		<i>Talmash</i>	12
<i>Ginckel</i> .		<i>Bellises</i>	12
Count <i>Vander Lip</i> .		<i>Washops</i>	12
The Princes Dragoons.		<i>Ossories</i>	10
<i>Marrewis</i> Dragoons.		<i>Berkevelt</i>	10
<i>Sgravemoer</i> .		<i>Holstein</i>	10
<i>Sapbroeck</i> .		<i>Wirtemberg</i>	12
<i>Floddorp</i> .		<i>Hagendorn</i>	10
<i>Seyde</i> .		<i>Fagel</i>	10
<i>Suylestein</i> .		<i>Nassau</i>	10
In all,		<i>Carelfon</i>	12
Troopers	1683	<i>Brander</i>	10
Life-Guard	197	Prince of <i>Berkevelt</i>	10
<i>Benting's</i>	480	In all 164 Companies, at	
Princes Dragoons	860	53 in a Company.	8692
<i>Marrewis</i>	440	Guards	2000
	3660		10692

Horse ————— 3660
Foot ————— 10692
 —————
 14352

List of the Fleet.

Men of War — 65
 Fly-boats — 500
 Pinks — 60
 Fire-ships — 10
 —————
 In all — 635

However Men were not easily then induced to believe, that this

this was above one half of the Number brought over ; they *Novemb.* concluding from the Number of Ships, and the Companies taken in the Fly-boat by the *Swallow-Frigat*, that the Army must be at least double to this Number ; though afterwards it appeared to be very near a true Account.

November the 8th. the Prince went from *Chudleigh* towards *Exeter*, where he arrived about One of the Clock, and made a very splendid Entry with his Army, the People much rejoicing at it, and looking upon him as their Deliverer from Popery and Slavery. That Night the Prince lodged at the Deanry, the Dean as well as the Bishop having left the Town.

The 9th. Dr. *Burnet* was sent to order the Priest and Vicars of the Cathedral not to pray for the Pretended *Prince of Wales*, which they would not comply with till they were severely threatened. The same day the Prince went to the Cathedral, and was present at the singing *Te Deum*, after which his Declaration was publickly read to the People.

The same day the late King published this Order.

‘ **F**Or the more punctual and regular Payment of Quarters in
 ‘ the March of Our Forces, We do hereby strictly charge
 ‘ and require, That upon the Arrival of any Regiment, Troop,
 ‘ or Company, in any Town or Village, Publication be immediately made by Beat of Drum or otherwise, and Notice given to the Chief Magistrate or Civil Officer of Our Pleasure,
 ‘ That all Officers and Private Soldiers shall duely pay their Quarters, and that such Chief Magistrate or Civil Officer do
 ‘ the next Morning come to the Place where such Regiment, Troop, or Company is drawn up before their March, and
 ‘ make their Complaint to the Commander in Chief of any Wrong done, or Quarters left unpaid : Whereupon Our express Will and Pleasure is, That such Commander in Chief
 ‘ shall cause Satisfaction to be made to the Party injured, and the Debt to be paid. And if any Commander in Chief shall
 ‘ fail therein, We do hereby declare Our Resolution upon Complaint to punish such Commander in Chief, by cashiering or
 ‘ otherwise, and to cause such Injury to be redressed, and the Debt to be duely satisfied without delay.

The Soldiery had lived with very little Discipline in the
 G Times

Novemb. Times of Peace ; and now the War was opening, became more Insolent : So that the ill observing this Order, was one of those things which tended as much as any thing to the Ruine of that Army, they being reduced to a great Want of all Necessaries by the People, who feared their Payment, and hated both them and the Cause they were embarked in.

About the same time there was published a very advantageous *Character* of the Prince of Orange, which was greedily read, and industriously spread under-hand.

The Prince continued three days at *Exeter*, before any of the Gentry or Nobility appeared for him, which caused a great Wonder in his Army, and was published here the 18th. we being told, that some of the Rabble lifted themselves for him, and had Arms given them ; but the Mayor and Clergy of the City stood their Ground.

The 11th. of *November* the King published an Account, That the Enemy seized all the King's Money was found in the *West*, and that they had taken 300 *l.* from the Collector of the *Excise* at *Exeter*, and committed the Officer to Custody ; and that not one Person of Quality was yet come in to them. This last was again confirm'd by another Express the next day.

The 13th. an Account came from *Cirencester*, That the Lord *Lovelace* going to the Prince with between 60 and 70 Horse, was there seized by the Militia, by Order of the Duke of *Beaufort*, with about 13 of the Party, one Major *Lorege* being slain in the Action, together with his Son, Captain *Lee*, and Lieutenant *Williams* and six Common Soldiers wounded ; but notwithstanding this Resistance, the Lord *Lovelace* was at last forced to yield, and secured by the Duke of *Beaufort* ; and this was very acceptable News at *Whitehall*, but the Joy was short, and not well founded.

The 14th. there came an Account from *Salisbury*, That upon the 12th. the Lord *Cornbury* pretending to have received Orders from his Majesty, caused the Royal Regiment of Horse, the Royal Regiment of Dragoons whereof he was Colonel, and the Duke of *St. Albans* Regiment of Horse commanded by Colonel *Langston*, to march from *Salisbury* to *Dorchester*, where they refreshed themselves, and then they went to *Bridport* and *Axminster*. Several of the Officers thereupon apprehending some Design, asked the Lord *Cornbury*, as was said, whither they were going ?

going? Who answered, To beat up the Enemies Quarters at *Novemb. Honiton*: But he finding the Royal Regiment of Horse, and several Officers of the Dragoons, did more and more suspect him, he marched with those that would follow him towards *Honiton, Langston* going before with the Regiment of *St. Albans*; but the Royal Regiment of Horse, and several of the Dragoons, return'd to *Bridport*. And the same day the Earl of *Feverham* came to *Salisbury*, to Command the Forces in Chief. The next day these Regiments return'd from *Bridport* to *Salisbury*, and we were told, there was not ten Troopers of the Royal Regiment wanting; *which sufficiently shews how firm they were in their Fidelity to his Majesty*: But notwithstanding this Flourish, this News caused a great Consternation at *Whitehall*.

The 16th. there was published a Proclamation to prohibit the keeping of *Exeter* Fair, and other Fairs thereabouts, because many on that Pretence went over to the Prince of *Orange*.

The same day the Reverend Dr. *Lamplu*, then Bishop of *Exeter*, was Translated to the Archbishoprick of *York*, and Dr. *Trelawny* from the See of *Bristol* to that of *Exeter*: And his Majesty also ordered a Publick Collection to be made thorow the City of *London*, the Liberties and Suburbs thereof, for the Relief of the poor and distressed Inhabitants of the City, who were by the Distractions of the Times, and the Interruption of Trade, reduced to great Want and Misery.

The 17th. of *November* the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Archbishop of *York* Elect, the Bishop of *Ely*, and the Bishop of *Rochester*, presented this Petition to the King.

May it please Your Majesty,

WE Your Majesties most Loyal Subjects, in a deep sense of the Miseries of a War now breaking forth in the Bowels of this Your Kingdom, and of the Danger to which Your Majesties Sacred Person is thereby like to be exposed, as also of the Distractions of Your People, by reason of their present Grievances, do think our selves bound in Conscience of the Duty we owe to God and our Holy Religion, to Your Majesty and our Country, most humbly to offer to Your Majesty, That in our Opinion, the only visible way to preserve Your Majesty and this Your Kingdom, would be the Calling a Parliament, Regular and Free in all its Circumstances.

We therefore most earnestly beseech Your Majesty, That You would
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Novemb. be graciously pleased with all speed to call such a Parliament, wherein we shall be most ready to promote such Counsels and Resolutions of Peace and Settlement in Church and State, as may conduce to Your Majesties Honour and Safety, and to the quieting of the Minds of Your People.

* The Means here hinted at was a Treaty with the Prince, and the Nobility and Gentry who had Declared for him.

*We do likewise humbly beseech Your Majesty, in the mean time to use * such Means for the preventing the Effusion of Christian Blood, as to Your Majesty shall seem most meet.*

W. Cant.	Clarendon.	Nom. Ebor.	T. Oxon.
Grafton.	Burlington.	W. Asaph.	Page.
Ormond.	Anglesey.	F. Ely.	Chandois.
Dorset.	Rochester.	Tho. Roffen.	Osulston.
Clare.	Newport.	Tho. Petriburg.	

It was said there was a sharp Answer given to this excellent Petition, which was the Sense of all the King's Friends in the Nation, except a few desparate Men, whose Crimes had rendered them incapable of the Mercy of a Parliament, and some others who designed the Ruine of the *English* Liberties and Religion, with the utmost hazard of the King and Kingdom.

The same day in the Afternoon the King left the City, and with his Royal Highness Prince George of *Denmark* went to *Windsor*, and the next Morning he went to *Salisbury*; appointing in his absence the Privy-Council to meet for the Dispatch of all Affairs as occasion should require.

The 19th. of *November* the Lords for their own Vindication published the Petition afore-represented; and the next day the King's Answer to it was printed also, which was this.

His Majesties most Gracious Answer.

My Lords,

What you ask of Me, I most passionately desire; and I promise you UPON THE FAITH OF A KING, That I will have a Parliament, and such an one as you ask for, as soon as ever the Prince of Orange has quitted this Realm: For how is it possible a Parliament should be Free in all its Circumstances, as you Petition for, whilst an Enemy is in the Kingdom, and can make a Return of near an hundred Voices?

This was sufficiently disobliging, considering the State of Affairs, and the Temper of the Nation at that time; but the *Fer*
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suits were so enraged at the printing the *Petition*, that they published a Paper with this Title, *Some Reflections upon the Humble Petition to the King's Most Excellent Majesty, of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, who subscribed the same, presented November 17th. 1688.* which follows in these words. Novemb.

THat the *Peace-makers* are *blessed*, is a Truth our Saviour hath left recorded in the holy Scriptures, and those are truly to be honoured, who can contribute any thing to so happy a work: But that either this way of Petitioning, or the matter in it desired, is likely to produce so great a Blessing, is a Question worthy thy serious Consideration.

I shall first therefore take notice of some of the dubious Expressions in the *Petition*, and then lay down some few Reasons why I judge the *Petition* in it self unseasonable; and lastly endeavour to shew how unpracticable the summoning of a Parliament is at this present.

The Expression, *That a War is now breaking forth in the Bowels of the Kingdom*, shews that their 'Lordships either know or foresee that a Civil War is fomenting; and I pray God this *Petition* do not, more than any thing else, occasion it; or that the *Prince of Orange* intends to carry on the War through the Bowels of the Kingdom, whereas those that wish well to the King, hope it will be kept in and about the parts where he landed.

Secondly, As to the *distraction of the People under their present Grievances*; it seems to many true Members of the Church of England, that it had been every whit as agreeable to your Lordships Character to have rather thank'd his Majesty for his late extraordinary and gracious Favours, than to have amus'd the Subjects at this time with the Apprehensions of *Grievances*, without any intimation what they were; for it is most manifest, that by such remonstrating of *Grievances*, the People were instigated to that bloody Rebellion in 1641.

As to the Expression, *That your Lordships think your selves bound in Conscience of the Duty you owe to God and our holy Religion, and to his Majesty and our Country, most humbly to offer to his Majesty, That in your opinion the ONLY visible way to pre-* his Majesty and his Kingdom, *would be the calling of a Parliament regular and free in all its Circumstances.* I hope to make out, that the summoning of a Parliament now, is so far from being the
Only

Novemb. Only way to effect these things, that it will be one of the principal
 ' causes of much Misery to the Kingdom; and I am sure both
 ' our Duty to God and our holy Religion, as well as to his Majesty and
 ' our Country, doth plainly enjoin us to use One other effectual
 means to obviate the Miseries of a Civil or Invasive War; which
 ' is, the keeping inviolably our Allegiance to our Sovereign, and
 ' effectually joyning with him to resist all his Enemies, whether
 ' ther Foreign Aggressors, or Native Rebels: And it is much to
 be wondred at, that this Duty, so well known to your Lord-
 ships, should never be mention'd.

As to the *Regular and Free Parliament in all its Circumstances*, I
 shall now proceed to prove, that at this Season all our Wishes for
 such a one are impotent, and must be ineffectual.

First, it is a known Truth, and sadly experienced, That when-
 ever the People are in a great Ferment, and contrary Parties are
 bandying one against another, the giving liberty to the People
 to meet in great Bodies, is dangerous to the Government; and
 you your selves not long since were of that opinion, when you
 oppos'd the vehement Addresses to King *Charles II.* for summon-
 ing a Parliament, when he judg'd it would strengthen the Fa-
 ction against him; and you very well know, when great heats
 were among the Members, and unreasonable Votes were pass'd
 against the Lineal Succession, and other matters endangering the
 Government, the King was obliged to prorogue some Parlia-
 ments from time to time, that such separation might produce
 more sober Counsels: And then the great cry was, That for the
 Preservation of the King's Person and our Religion, they were
 so earnest to have a Parliament meet.

Secondly, it is impossible there can be a Regular and Free Ele-
 ' ction, while the Electors are so violently divided; one part of
 ' them being so vehement Wishers of the Success of the *Prince of*
 ' *Orange*, that they slight all the Miseries that unavoidably will
 ' fall on the Country thereby, upon the bare hope that he will
 ' preserve Religion and Property. Now in such a time as this, when,
 ' if we will give credit to the *Prince's Declaration*, there are so
 ' many that have invited him, can it be safe for the King to grant
 ' a Commission, even to the People, to assemble in such great
 ' Confluxes, as may afford them opportunity of lifting themselves
 ' against him?

Thirdly,

Thirdly, If we yield that Elections can be without outrageous *Novemb.* Routs; yet when the Parliament is met, it is requisite by the very Constitution, that every part of that August Assembly should be free in their Assent or Dissent to what is to be debated; and that Freedom is as fundamentally necessary in the Person of the King, as in the Members of either House; and that one of the proper and necessary Circumstances of that Convention ought to be, that all the Members shall be present. I shall therefore shew, that at this time none of these can be practicable.

First, As to the King: While such powerful Enemies are in the Country, and so many ready to catch any opportunity to joyn with them, how can the King be absent from his Army? The providing for, cherishing, animating and ordering of which, will sufficiently employ the most indefatigable of Princes. And none can think that any Prince can watch the motions of such an Enemy, and time his opportunities of assaulting them, or defending himself, and at the same time be embarrass'd with a Party in the Houses, that may as dangerously be levelling their Votes against him, as the Invaders are their Artillery.

However there can be no freedom to the King, how undaunted soever, because the impending Storm may so affright his Council, that they may advise to the yielding of some things that may be of ill consequence to the Government; for whatever lessens the King's just Prerogative, as this may do, in depriving him of exercising his Negative Voice, is at one time or other prejudicial to his Subjects.

Secondly, As to the Lords: There can be no free Convention of them, since several of them have so far forgot their Allegiance, that they are actually in the *Prince of Orange's* Army, and many other Lords are attending the King, and their Charges; so that while these Armies are in Being, they cannot meet in their House but by their Proxies; which I suppose none can expect will be allowed to the Peers that are in Rebellion, if we may be allowed to call that such, which all our Laws so adjudgeth.

The like may be said for the House of Commons: All the Gentlemen of Interest in their Country, by their Allegiance are bound to serve the King in his Wars at his Command, and will be few enough to keep their respective Counties in peace. And I am confident none will think such a Parliament, as this ought to be that is desir'd, should consist of such who have been little
con-

Novemb. conversant in publick Affairs, or have small Interests in their Counties.

So, that upon the whole, I cannot see how any Free Parliament can meet, unless it be such a Convention as the Saxons obtained of the Britains on Salisbury Plains, where the eminentest of both People were to meet unarmed, and there amicably adjust matters in difference; but it is well known, that the Saxons under their long Coats had their Weapons, wherewith they slew the Flower of the British Nobility, and thereby rendred their Conquest more easie.

It is true, such a Stratagem is now like to take effect, *but the King and those that wish well to the Succession of the Monarchy, and the preservation of their Country, must needs fear, that there will be as dangerous Contests within the Houses, as may be in the open Fields; and thereby little can be expected from such a Parliament, which can redound to the publick good of the Kingdom.*

Fourthly, Those Spiritual and Temporal Lords that have signed this Petition, either have not, or they have consulted the Prince of Orange, before they proposed this Advice.

If they have not consulted him, they ought to satisfy the King how they can warrant a Cessation of Arms on the Prince's side, or how they can hinder him from advancing further to awe Debates in the Houses, or what assurance they can give, that he will acquiesce in the free Decision of the matters proposed, or that he will peaceably depart out of the Land, when things are settled, and will not pretend a stay here, till the vast Sums be paid him that he hath expended on this occasion; or lastly, will not find new occasions of questioning the security of Performance of any Agreement to be made.

If they have consulted the Prince, they ought to shew his Commission, authorizing them to make Proposal. or shew the Heads of those Grievances he demands to be redressed; for some they urge in their Partition there are, which distract the People; but I suppose they are more careful of their Heads, than to own any such correspondence.

If these Noble Persons would have effectually saved Effusion of Blood, they would rather have used all their Interest to have kept the Prince of Orange in his Country, tho' with his Army and Fleet in readiness, and have obtained his sending his demands, and have waited like dutiful Subjects till the King had convened his Parliament,

ment, and have tried how Gracious the King would have been in redressing Grievances, and securing Religion and Property, and after the King's refusal there might have been some colour for his Invasion, but none upon any pretence whatsoever to have invited him to it. Novemb.

Fifthly, Those who will not openly, and with a bare face justify the Prince of Orange's Pretensions, cannot think it consistent with the Honour of the King to stoop so low as to summon a Parliament at the direction of an Invader, who can never be conceived to desire it with that eagerness, if he did not judge it very much conduceable to his Interest, for which very reason the King ought to be jealous of such Councils.

And I humbly conceive those Peers have not sufficiently considered how prejudicial this sort of Address may be to the King's Affairs, and how much it will conduce to the further alienating of the Affections of the Subjects from the King, when they shall hear of his denial to comply at present with this Expedient, and never hear the reasons thereof, since they have not divulged his Majesty's Gracious Answer, together with their Petition; and I am sure, at this time the putting the King upon such a *Dilemma*, is the greatest dis-service can be done him, and very little inferior to joining with his Enemies.

I might add many more Arguments to prove, that the King cannot in Honour yield to this Advice, without quitting that undeniable Prerogative the Laws give him, of making War, or concluding peace, if those matters should be submitted to the Arbitriment of the two Houses; or owning that the Allegiance of his Subjects did not bind them to assist him in the defence of his Crown and Dominions, without the Votes of a Parliament. But I shall conclude with some few Considerations I humbly offer to those Right Reverend, and Noble Lords, and all those who are of the same Judgment with them, to reflect upon.

First then, I desire them to consider, whether it will not be more glorious, and agreeable to the Principles of our Religion, effectually to assist our undoubted lawful Sovereign, than to suffer him to be dethroned solely because he is a *Roman Catholick*, since the Papists themselves, tho' they never take the Oath of Allegiance or Supremacy, yet do, and ever have declared, that if any *Roman Catholick* Prince, yea the Pope himself in person, should invade any King of *England*, tho' a Protestant, yet that they are bound

Novemb. to defend such a King against them, as much as if they were
 ~~~~~ *Turks.*

*Secondly*, Whether since the true and original Cause of this Invasion, and consequently of all the Blood-shed these Lords so earnestly desire to prevent, hath not been the denying to concur with the King in establishing of Liberty of Conscience, even with such security to the Protestant Religion, and Church of *England*, as could be desired: and whether in all human probability, that would not be more conduceable to establish the publick Tranquility of the Kingdom, and its increase in Wealth and People, and consequently the most efficacious means to reduce the *Dutch* to be just and tractable Allies and Neighbours, rather than any thing can be effected by this Invasion, or the truckling to such avowed Enemies to our Country, our Religion, and our King.

*Thirdly*, Whether the King's entire Trust in the Fidelity of his own Subjects for his defence, and not admitting of foreign Aids that were unsought-for, proffered, do not oblige all that have any sense of Gratitude or Duty, to aid him to the very utmost against such Foreigners as so unnaturally, and so unjustly invade him; and when it hath pleased God to give success to the King's just Arms, we are not to doubt, but the King, according to his solemn promise in his late Royal Declaration, will speedily call a Parliament, and in it redress all such Grievances as his people can justly complain of, with a full and ample security to the Church of *England*, and all his Protestant Subjects, which it will much more be our Interest to have in a truly harmonious, and Free-parliamentary way at that time established, than at this present in a tumultuary and precipitate haste so patched up, as will not be durable; and the more earnestly we desire to see this good work to be set upon, the more haste the Nobility and Gentry should make to expel those who hindred the Convention of that Parliament, which was much more likely to have settled matters to the content of the King and his People, than this Invasion can ever hope to effect.

The Prince of *Orange's* Declaration could be no longer suppress'd, and therefore it was suffered about this time to be printed with a short *Preface*, and *some modest Remarks* (as the Author pretends) on it: In 4to.



Novemb.

The Prince of Orange's Declaration,  
shewing the Reasons why he invades  
England, with a short Preface, and  
some modest Remarks on it.

**T**HERE having been various Discourses about the Reasonableness and Justice of the Dutch Invasion, the Prince's great Love and special Care of the Protestant Religion, and English Protestants, set forth in the most charming manner, and the Desperateness of the Protestant State and Condition, painted in the blackest and most frightful Colours; Our Natural Liege Lord, notwithstanding his Unparallel'd Grace to all, represented as designing the greatest Cruelty against his own Subjects; strange Stories of ill things whispered, and nothing less than a Secret League between His Majesty of Great Britain, and the French King, to extirpate all Protestants, entred into. These Reports are with so much Art and Cunning spread, as to startle the most \* considering Protestants of all Perswasions, whence nothing could be more eagerly desired, than a sight of the Prince of Orange's Declaration. For the Expectations of most Men are, That some extraordinary Secrets, some hidden Works of Darkness should be reveal'd and brought to light, as generally those, who yet never saw the Prince's Declaration, do still believe: But there not being one word of any such Treaty, we cannot see why it is that the Prince comes over; and if others impartially peruse the Declaration, we doubt not but 'twill convince them, that they give no Reason powerful enough to justify so Bloody an Enterprize, as this, in the issue must needs be.

\*They did so whilst the danger hung over our heads, tho' now nothing less dreadful.

We will therefore give you a true Copy of the Prince's Declaration, word for word, as it runs in the West.



Novemb.

~ The Declaration of his Highness, WILLIAM HENRY, by the Grace of God, PRINCE of ORANGE, &c. of the Reasons inducing him to appear in Arms in the Kingdom of *England*, for preserving of the Protestant Religion, and for restoring the Laws and Liberties of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*.

1. **I**T is both certain and evident to all men, that the publick Peace and Happiness of any State or Kingdom cannot be preserved, where the Laws, Liberties, and Customs established by the lawful Authority in it, are openly transgressed and annulled: More especially where the Alteration of *Religion* is endeavoured, and that a *Religion* which is contrary to Law, is endeavoured to be introduced: Upon which those who are most immediately concerned in it, are indispensably bound to endeavour to preserve and maintain the established Laws, Liberties and Customs, and above all, the *Religion* and Worship of God that is established among them; and to take such an effectual care, that the Inhabitants of the said State or Kingdom, may neither be deprived of their *Religion*, nor of their Civil Rights: Which is so much the more necessary, because the Greatness and Security both of Kings, Royal Families, and of all such as are in Authority, as well as the Happiness of their Subjects and People, depend, in a most especial manner, upon the exact observation and maintenance of these their Laws, Liberties and Customs.

2. Upon these grounds it is, that we cannot any longer forbear to declare that to our great Regret, we see that those Councillors, who have now the chief Credit with the King, have overturned the *Religion*, Laws and Liberties of those Realms, and subjected them in all things relating to their Consciences, Liberties, and Properties, to Arbitrary Government, and that not only by secret and indirect ways, but in an open and undisguised manner.

3. Those evil Councillors for the advancing and colouring this with some plausible Pretexes, did invent and set on foot the Kings  
Dis-



*Dispensing Power*, by Virtue of which they pretend, that according to *Law*, he can *suspend*, and *dispen*ce with the Execution of the *Laws* that have been enacted by the Authority of the King and Parliament, for the security and happiness of the Subject, and so have rendered those *Laws* of no effect; tho' there is nothing more certain, than that as no *Laws* can be made, but by the joint concurrence of King and Parliament, so likewise *Laws* so enacted, which secure the publick Peace, and safety of the Nation, and the Lives and Liberties of every Subject in it, cannot be repealed or suspended but by the same Authority. Novemb.

4. For tho the King may pardon the Punishment that a Transgressor has incurred, and to which he is condemned, as in the Cases of *Treason* or *Felony*; yet it cannot be with any colour of Reason inferred from thence, that the King can entirely suspend the Execution of those *Laws* relating to *Treason* or *Felony*; unless it is pretended, that he is clothed with a Despotick and Arbitrary Power; and that the Lives, Liberties, Honours, and Estates of the Subjects depend wholly on his good Will and Pleasure, and are entirely subject to him; which must infallibly follow, on the King's having a Power to *suspend* the Execution of the *Laws*, and to dispense with them.

5. Those Evil Counsellors, in order to the giving some Credit to this strange and execrable Maxim, have so conducted the Matter, that they have obtained a Sentence from the Judges, declaring, that this *Dispensing Power* is a Right belonging to the *Crown*; as if it were in the power of the Twelve Judges to offer up the *Laws*, Rights, and Liberties of the whole Nation to the King, to be disposed of by him Arbitrarily and at his Pleasure, and expressly contrary to *Laws* enacted for the Security of the Subjects. In order to the obtaining this Judgment, those Evil Counsellors did before hand examine secretly the Opinion of the Judges, and procured such of them as could not in Conscience concur in so pernicious a Sentence, to be turned out, and others to be substituted in their rooms, till by the Changes which were made in the Courts of Judicature, they at last obtained that Judgment. And they have raised some to those Trusts, who make open Profession of the Popish Religion, tho those are by Law rendered incapable of all such Employments.

6. It is also manifest and notorious, That as his Majesty was, upon his coming to the Crown, received and acknowledged by all the



*Novemb.* the Subjects of *England, Scotland, and Ireland*, as their *King*, without the least Opposition, tho he made then open Profession of the *Popish Religion*; so he did then promise, and solemnly swear at his Coronation, That he would maintain his Subjects in the free Enjoyment of their Laws and Liberties; and in particular, that he would maintain the *Church of England as it was established by Law*: It is likewise certain, that there have been at divers and sundry times several Laws enacted for the Preservation of those Rights and Liberties, and of the Protestant Religion; and among other Securities, it has been enacted, That all Persons whatsoever, that are advanced to any Ecclesiastical Dignity, or to bear Office in either University, as likewise all other that should be put in any Employment, Civil or Military, should declare that they were not Papists, but were of the Protestant Religion, and that by their taking of the Oaths of *Allegiance* and *Supremacy*, and the *Test*; yet these Evil Councillors have in effect annulled and abolished all those Laws, both with relation to Ecclesiastical and Civil Employments.

7. In order to Ecclesiastical Dignities and Offices, they have not only without any colour of Law, but against most express Laws to the contrary, set up a Commission, of a certain number of Persons, to whom they have committed the Cognisance and Direction of all Ecclesiastical matters; in the which Commission there has been, and still is one of his Majesties Ministers of State, who makes now publick profession of the *Popish Religion*, and who at the time of his first professing it, declared that for a great while before he had believed that to be the only true Religion. By all this, the deplorable State to which the Protestant Religion is reduced, is apparent, since the Affairs of the Church of *England* are now put into the hands of persons who have accepted of a Commission that is manifestly illegal, and who have executed it contrary to all Law; and that now one of their chief Members has abjured the *Protestant Religion*, and declared himself a *Papist*; by which he is become incapable of holding any publick Employment. The said Commissioners have hitherto given such proof of their Submission to the Directions given them, that there is no reason to doubt, but they will still continue to promote all such designs as will be most agreeable to them. And those Evil Councillors take care to raise none to any Ecclesiastical Dignities, but persons that have no Zeal for the *Protestant Religion*, and that now  
hide



hide their unconcernedness for it, under the specious pretence of *Moderation*. The said Commissioners have suspended the Bishop of *London*, only because he refused to obey an Order that was sent him to suspend a worthy Divine, without so much as citing him before him to make his own Defence, or observing the common forms of Process. They have turned out a President chosen by the Fellows of *Magdalene Colledge*, and afterwards all the Fellows of that Colledge, without so much as citing them before any Court that could take legal Cognisance of that Affair, or obtaining any Sentence against them by a competent Judge. And the only reason that was given for turning them out, was their refusing to chuse for their President, a person that was recommended to them, by the Instigation of those Evil Councillors, tho' the Right of a Free-Election belonged undoubtedly to them. But they were turned out of their Free-holds contrary to Law, and to that express Provision in the *Magna Charta*; *That no man shall lose Life or Goods, but by the Law of the Land*. And now these Evil Councillors have put the said Colledge wholly into the hands of Papists, tho' as is abovesaid, they are incapable of all such Employments, both by the Law of the Land, and the Statutes of the Colledge. These Commissioners have also cited before them all the Chancellors and Archdeacons of *England*, requiring them to certifie to them the Names of all such Clergymen as have read the King's Declaration for *Liberty of Conscience*, and of such as have not read it, without considering that the reading of it was not enjoined the Clergy by the Bishops who are their Ordinaries. The Illegality and Incompetency of the said Court of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners was so notoriously known, and it did so evidently appear, that it tended to the Subversion of the *Protestant Religion*, that the Most Reverend Father in God, *William Archbishop of Canterbury*, Primate and Metropolitan of all *England*, seeing that it was raised for no other end but to oppress such persons as were of eminent Virtue, Learning and Piety, refused to sit, or to concur in it.

8. And tho' there are many express Laws against all Churches or Chappels for the exercise of the Popish Religion, and also against all Monasteries and Convents, and more particulary against the Order of the *Jesuits*, yet those Evil Counsellors have procured orders for the building of several Churches and Chappels for the exercise of that Religion. They have also procured divers Mona-



*Novemb.* Monasteries to be erected, and in contempt of the Law, they have not only set up several Colledges of *Jesuits* in divers places for the corrupting of the Youth, but have raised up one of the *Order* to be a Privy Counsellor, and a Minister of State. By all which they do evidently shew, that they are restrained by no rules of Law whatsoever, but that they have subjected the Honours and Estates of the Subjects and the establish'd Religion, to a Despotick Power, and to Arbitrary Government. In all which they are served and seconded by those Ecclesiastical Commissioners.

9. They have also followed the same Methods with relation to Civil affairs; for they have procured orders to examine all Lords Lieutenants, Deputy-Lieutenants, Sheriffs, Justices of Peace, and all others that were in any publick Employment, if they would concur with the King in the repeal of the *Test* and *Penal Laws*, and all such whose Consciences did not suffer them to comply with their designs, were turned out, and others were put in their places, who they believed would be more compliant to them in their designs of defeating the Intent and Execution of those Laws which had been made with so much care and caution for the security of the *Protestant Religion*. And in many of these places they have put professed Papists, tho' the Law has disabled them, and warranted the Subjects not to have any regard to their Orders.

10. They have also invaded the Priviledges, and seized on the Charters of most of those Towns that have a right to be represented by their Burgesses in Parliament, and have procured Surrenders to be made of them, by which the Magistrates in them have delivered up all their Rights and Priviledges, to be disposed of at the pleasure of those Evil Councillors, who have thereupon placed new Magistrates in those Towns, such as they can most entirely confide in; and in many of them they have put Popish Magistrates, notwithstanding the Incapacities under which the Law has put them.

11. And whereas no Nation whatsoever can subsist without the administration of good and impartial Justice, upon which mens Lives, Liberties, Honours and Estates do depend, those Evil Councillors have subjected these to an Arbitrary and Despotick Power: In the most important Affairs they have studied to discover beforehand the Opinions of the Judges, and have turned out such as they found would not conform themselves to their intentions, and have put others in their places, of whom they were more assured,



assured, without having any regard to their Abilities. And they have not stuck to raise even professed Papists to the Courts of Judicature, notwithstanding their Incapacity by Law, and that no regard is due to any Sentences flowing from them. They have carried this so far, as to deprive such Judges, who in the common administration of Justice, shewed that they were governed by their Consciences, and not by the Directions which the others gave them. By which it is apparent, that they design to render themselves the absolute Masters of the Lives, Honours and Estates of the Subjects, of what rank or dignity soever they may be; and that without having any regard either to the Equity of the Cause, or to the Consciences of the Judges, whom they will have to submit in all things to their own Will and Pleasure; hoping by such ways to intimidate those who are yet in Employment, as also such others, as they shall think fit, to put in the rooms of those whom they have turned out; and to make them see what they must look for, if they should at any time act in the least contrary to their good liking; and that no failings of that kind are pardoned in any Persons whatsoever. A great deal of Blood has been shed in many places of the Kingdom, by Judges governed by those Evil Counsellors, against all the Rules and Forms of Law, without so much as suffering the Persons that were accused to Plead in their own Defence.

They have also, by putting the Administration of Justice in the hands of Papists, brought all the matters of Civil Justice into great uncertainties; with how much Exactness and Justice soever that these Sentences may have been given. For since the Laws of the Land do not only exclude Papists from all Places of Judicature, but have put them under an Incapacity, none are bound to acknowledge or to obey their Judgments, and all Sentences given by them are null and void of themselves: So that all Persons who have been cast in Tryals before such Popish Judges, may justly look on their pretended Sentences, as having no more force than the Sentences of any private and unauthorised Person whatsoever. So deplorable is the case of the Subjects, who are obliged to answer to such Judges, that must in all things stick to the Rules which are set them by  
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those Evil Counsellors, who as they raised them up to those Employments, so can turn them out of them at pleasure; and who can never be esteemed Lawful Judges; so that all their Sentences are in the Construction of the Law, of no Force and Efficacy. They have likewise disposed of all Military Employments, in the same manner: For though the Laws have not only Excluded Papists from all such Employments, but have in particular, Provided that they should be disarmed; yet they, in contempt of these Laws, have not only armed the Papists, but have likewise raised them up to the greatest Military Trusts, both by Sea and Land, and that Strangers as well as Natives, and Irish as well as English, that so by those means, having rendred themselves Masters both of the Affairs of the Church, of the Government of the Nation, and of the Courts of Justice, and subjected them all to a Despotick and Arbitrary Power, they might be in a capacity to maintain and execute their wicked Designs, by the assistance of the Army, and thereby to enslave the Nation.

13. The dismal effects of this Subversion of the Established Religion, Laws and Liberties in *England*, appear more evidently to us, by what we see done in *Ireland*; where the whole Government is put in the Hands of Papists, and where all the Protestant Inhabitants are under the daily fears of what may be justly apprehended from the Arbitrary Power which is set up there: which has made great numbers of them leave that Kingdom, and abandon their Estates in it, remembering well that Cruel and Bloody Massacre which fell out in that Island in the Year 1641.

14. Those evil Counsellors have also prevailed with the King to declare in *Scotland*, That he is cloathed with *Absolute Power*, and that all the Subjects are bound to Obey him without Reserve: upon which he has assumed an Arbitrary Power both over the Religion and Laws of that Kingdom; from all which it is apparent, what is to be looked for in *England*, as soon as matters are duly prepared for it.

15. Those great and insufferable Oppressions, and the open Contempt of all Law, together with the Apprehensions of the sad Consequences that must certainly follow upon it, have put the Subjects under great and just Fears; and have made



made them look after such lawful Remedies as are allowed of in all Nations: yet all has been without effect. And those Evil Counsellors have endeavoured to make all Men apprehend the loss of their Lives, Liberties, Honours, and Estates, if they should go about to preserve themselves from this Oppression, by Petitions, Representations, or other means authorised by Law. Thus did they proceed with the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the other Bishops, who having offered a most humble Petition to the King, in terms full of Respect, and not exceeding the number limited by Law, in which they set forth in short, the Reasons for which they could not obey that order which, by the Instigation of those Evil Counsellors, was sent them, requiring them to appoint their Clergy to read in their Churches the Declaration for *Liberty of Conscience*; were sent to Prison, and afterwards brought to a Tryal, as if they had been guilty of some enormous Crime. They were not only obliged to defend themselves in that pursuit, but to appear before professed Papists, who had not taken the Test, and by consequence were Men whose Interest led them to condemn them; and the Judges that gave their Opinion in their favours, were thereupon turned out.

And yet it cannot be pretended, that any Kings, how great soever their Power has been, and how Arbitrary and Despotick soever they have been in the exercise of it, have ever reckoned it a Crime for their Subjects to come in all Submission and Respect, and in a due number, not exceeding the limits of the Law, and represent to them the Reasons that made it impossible for them to obey their Orders. Those Evil Counsellors have also treated a Peer of the Realm as a Criminal, only because he said, That the Subjects were not bound to obey the Orders of a Popish Justice of Peace; though it is evident, that they being by Law rendred incapable of all such Trusts, no regard is due to their Orders. This being the security which the People have by the Law for their Lives, Liberties, Honours and Estates, that they are not to be subjected to the Arbitrary Proceedings of Papists, that are contrary to Law, put into any Employments Civil or Military.

16.



Both We our selves, and our Dearest and most Entirely Beloved Consort the Princess, have endeavoured to signifie, in terms full of respect to the King, the just and deep Regret which all these Proceedings have given us; and in Compliance with his Majesty's desires signified to us, We declared both by Word of Mouth, to his Envoy, and in Writing, what our Thoughts were touching the Repealing of the *Test and Penal Laws*; which we did in such a manner, that we hoped we had proposed an Expedient, by which the Peace of those Kingdoms, and a happy agreement among the Subjects of all Persuasions, might have been settled: but those Evil Counsellors have put such ill Constructions on these our good Intentions, that they have endeavoured to alienate the King more and more from us; as if We had designed to disturb the Quiet and Happiness of the Kingdom.

18.

The last and great Remedy for all those Evils, is *the calling of a Parliament*, for securing the Nation against the evil Practices of those wicked Counsellors: but this could not be yet compassed, nor can it be easily brought about. For those Men apprehending, that a Lawful Parliament being once assembled, they would be brought to an account for all their open Violations of Law, and for their Plots and Conspiracies against the Protestant Religion, and the Lives and Liberties of their Subjects, they have endeavoured, under the specious Pretence of *Liberty of Conscience*, first to sow Divisions among Protestants, between those of the *Church of England* and the *Dissenters*: The Design being laid to engage Protestants, that are all equally concerned, to preserve themselves from Popish Oppression, into mutual Quarrellings, that so by these some Advantages might be given to them to bring about their Designs; and that both in the Election of the Members of Parliament, and afterwards in the Parliament it self. For they see well, that if all Protestants could enter into a mutual good understanding one with another, and concur together in the preserving of their Religion, it would not be possible for them to compass their wicked Ends. They have also required all Persons in the several Counties of *England*, that either were in any Employment, or were in any considerable Esteem,



Esteem, to declare before-hand, that they would concur in the Repeal of the *Test and Penal Laws*; and that they would give their Voices in the Elections to Parliament, only for such as would concur in it: Such as would not thus pre-engage themselves, were turned out of all Employments; And others who entred into those Engagements, were put in their places, many of them being Papists: And contrary to the Charters and Privileges of those Burroughs that have a Right to send Burgesses to Parliament, they have ordered such Regulations to be made, as they thought fit and necessary, for assuring themselves of all the Members that are to be chosen by those Corporations: and by this means they hope to avoid that Punishment which they have deserved; though it is apparent, that all Acts made by Popish Magistrates are null and void of themselves: So that no Parliament can be Lawful, for which the Elections and Returns are made by Popish Sheriffs and Mayors of Towns; and therefore as long as the Authority and Magistracy is in such hands, it is not possible to have any Lawful Parliament. And though according to the Constitution of the *English* Government, and Immemorial Custom, all Elections of Parliament-men ought to be made with an entire Liberty, without any sort of Force, or the requiring the Electors to chuse such Persons as shall be named to them; and the Persons thus freely Elected, ought to give their Opinions freely, upon all Matters that are brought before them, having the good of the Nation ever before their Eyes, and following in all things the dictates of their Conscience; yet now the People of *England* cannot expect a Remedy from a *Free Parliament*, legally Called and Chosen. But they may perhaps see one Called, in which all Elections will be carried by Fraud or Force, and which will be composed of such Persons, of whom those Evil Counsellors hold themselves well assured, in which all things will be carried on according to their Direction and Interest, without any regard to the Good or Happiness of the Nation. Which may appear evidently from this, that the same Persons tried the Members of the last Parliament, to gain them to Consent to the Repeal of the *Test and Penal Laws*, and procured  
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that Parliament to be dissolved, when they found that they could not, neither by Promises nor Threatnings, prevail with the Members to comply with their wicked Designs.

19.

But to Crown all, there are great and violent Presumptions, inducing us to believe, that those Evils Counsellors, in order to the carrying on of their ill Designs, and to the gaining to themselves the more time for the effecting of them, for the encouraging of their Complices, and for the discouraging of all good Subjects, have published, That the *Queen* hath brought forth a *Son*; though there have appeared both during the *Queen's* pretended bigness, and in the manner in which the Birth was managed, so many just and visible grounds of Suspicion, that not only we our selves, but all the good Subjects of those Kingdoms, do vehemently suspect, that the pretended Prince of *Wales* was not born by the *Queen*. And it is notoriously known to all the World, that many both doubted of the *Queen's* Bigness, and of the Birth of the Child, and yet there was not any one thing done to satisfy them, or to put an end to their Doubts.

20.

And since our Dearest and most Entirely Beloved Consort the Princess, and likewise We Our Selves, have so great an Interest in this Matter, and such a Right, as all the World knows, to the Succession to the Crown: Since also the *English* did in the Year 1672, when the States General of the *United Provinces* were invaded in a most unjust War, use their utmost Endeavours to put an end to that War, and that in opposition to those who were then in the Government; and by their so doing, they run the hazard of losing both the Favour of the Court, and their Employments: And since the *English* Nation has ever testified a most particular Affection and Esteem, both to our Dearest Consort the Princess, and to Our Selves, We cannot excuse our selves from espousing their Interests, in a Matter of such high Consequence; and from Contributing all that lies in us, for the Maintaining both of the Protestant Religion, and of the Laws and Liberties of those Kingdoms, and for the securing to them the continual enjoyment of all their just Rights. To the doing of which,  
We



We are most earnestly solicited by a great many Lords, both Spiritual and Temporal, and by many Gentlemen and other Subjects of all Ranks.

THEREFORE it is, that We have thought fit to go over to *England*, and to carry over with us a Force, sufficient by the Blessing of God, to defend us from the Violence of those Evil Counsellors. AND WE being desirous that our Intentions in this may be rightly understood, have for this end prepared this *Declaration*, in which as we have hitherto given a True Account of the Reasons inducing us to it; So we now think fit to DECLARE, That this our Expedition is intended for no other Design, but to have a Free and Lawful Parliament assembled, as soon as is possible: and that in order to this, all the late Charters by which the Elections of Burgesses are limited contrary to the ancient Custom, shall be considered as null and of no force: And likewise all Magistrates who have been unjustly turned out, shall forthwith resume their former Employments, as well as all the Burroughs of *England* shall return again to their Ancient Prescriptions and Charters: And more particularly, that the Ancient Charter of the Great and Famous City of *London*, shall again be in force: And that the Writs for the Members of Parliament shall be addressed to the proper Officers, according to Law and Custom. That also none be suffered to choose or to be chosen Members of Parliament, but such as are qualified by Law: And that the Members of Parliament being thus lawfully Chosen, they shall meet and sit in full Freedom; That so the Two Houses may concur in the preparing of such Laws, as they upon full and free Debate shall judge necessary and convenient, both for the confirming and executing the Law concerning the *Test*, and such other Laws as are necessary for the Security and Maintenance of the Protestant Religion; as likewise for making such Laws as may establish a good agreement between the *Church of England* and all *Protestant Dissenters*; as also for the covering and securing of all such who will live peaceably under the Government, as becomes good Subjects, from all Persecution upon the account of their Religion, even *Papists* themselves not excepted; and for the doing of all other



other things, which the Two Houses of Parliament shall find necessary for the Peace, Honour and Safety of the Nation, so that there may be no more danger of the Nations falling at any time hereafter under *Arbitrary Government*. To this Parliament we will also refer the Enquiry into the Birth of the pretended Prince of *Wales*, and of all things relating to it, and to the Right of Succession.

22.

And We, for our part, will concur in every thing that may procure the Peace and Happiness of the Nation, which a Free and Lawful Parliament shall determin; Since we have nothing before our Eyes in this our Undertaking, but the Preservation of the Protestant Religion, the Covering of all Men from Persecution for their Consciences, and the securing to the whole Nation the free enjoyment of all their Laws, Rights and Liberties, under a Just and Legal Government.

23.

This is the Design that we have proposed to our selves, in appearing upon this occasion in Arms: In the Conduct of which, We will keep the Forces under our Command, under all the strictness of Martial Discipline; and take a special care, that the People of the Countries through which we must march, shall not suffer by their means; and as soon as the state of the Nation will admit of it, We promise that we will send back all those Foreign Forces that we have brought along with us.

24.

We do therefore hope that all People will judge rightly of us, and approve of these our Proceedings: But we chiefly rely on the Blessing of God for the Success of this our Undertaking, in which we place our whole and only Confidence.

25.

We do in the last place invite and require all Persons whatsoever, all the Peers of the Realm both Spiritual and Temporal, all Lords Lieutenants, Deputy Lieutenants, and all Gentlemen, Citizens, and other Commons of all ranks, to come and assist us, in order to the Executing of this our Design, against all such as shall endeavour to Oppose us; that so we may prevent all those Miseries which must needs follow upon the Nations being kept under Arbitrary Government and Slavery: And that all the Violences and Disorders which have overturned the whole Constitution of the



the *English* Government, may be fully redressed in a FREE AND LEGAL PARLIAMENT.

And we do likewise resolve, that as soon as the Nations are brought to a state of Quiet, We will take care that a Parliament shall be called in *Scotland*, for the restoring the Ancient Constitution of that Kingdom, and for bringing the Matters of Religion to such a Settlement, that the People may live easie and happy, and for putting an end to all the unjust Violences, that have been in a course of so many years committed there.

26.

We will also study to bring the Kingdom of *Ireland* to such a state, that the Settlement there may be religiously observed; and that the Protestant and British Interest there, may be secured. And we will endeavour by all possible means, to procure such an Establishment in all the Three Kingdoms, that they may all live in a happy Union and Correspondence together; and that the Protestant Religion, and the Peace, Honour and Happiness of those Nations, may be established upon lasting Foundations.

27.

*Given under our Hand and Seal, at our Court in the Hague, the Tenth Day of October, in the Year of our Lord 1688.*

WILLIAM HENRY, PRINCE OF ORANGE.

*By his Highness's special Command,*

C. HUYGENS

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*Thus*



**T**Hus you have an exact and full Account of the Prince of Orange's Declaration: And can you find one word of a Treaty with France, to extirpate all Protestants? Or can you imagine, that if they had the least Reason for such a Talk, they who aggravate every little thing, would let this Declaration pass without the least mentioning of what is so momentous and important? \*

\* This Modesty of the Expression is a Justification of the Sincerity and Civility of the Declarer.

And is there any thing more than a violent Presumption suggested about the Prince of Wales? And is the very Noise of such a Presumption reason enough to justify a real War?

As for the other things urg'd, are they not redressable by a Parliament, and so far as it's possible without one, already Redressed? † 'Tis a Parliament then that is the

† Nothing but a Free Parliament could re-establish our shattered Privileges and Liberties, and therefore it was so stiffly denied.

main thing to be insisted on, which, though Chosen as the last was, would be too feeble an Argument to clear the present Invasion from the charge of being Injust and Unrighteous.

The Great Men of this Kingdom ever thought a Parliament Irregularly Chosen more eligible than either a War, or a rash Enquiry into the manner of the Choice. Did Queen Elizabeth's Parliament admit of a Words being spoken to bring Queen Mary's Parliament into doubt? Did they not look on it as most dangerous to do so? And although by the Triennial Bill, the long Parliament in the late King's Reign was actually Dissolved Nine Months before it thought on the Repeal thereof, yet even after 'twas destroyed by it, the Dissolved Parliament sat and repealed the Dissolving Bill, and made the Conventicle-Act, the Test-Laws, repealed the Writ De Hæretico Comburendo, and pass'd the Habeas Corpus Bill into a Law. But was the Assembly that acted thus Irregularly, ever call'd to an Account for it, or any of their Laws declared Void and Null? Or was it ever esteemed a Good Reason for a War? And yet this is much more than hath been ever done by His Present Majesty. ‖ Besides,

‖ True, the Charters were taken away to secure the Succession and Monarchy then, but now to ruine the English Liberty, and Protestant Religion.

'twas the late King that took away the Charters, and those who were entring on violent Courses for their Restoration, were proclaimed Traytors, and several executed for it, while all the Pulpits

throughout England sounded of the Horridness, Blackness, Vileness, Devilishness of that Conspiracy; And is what was Black and Horrid



Horrid then, become Noble, Great, Generous and Glorious now?

Thus much was also a part of the late Duke of Monmouth's Declaration, and yet a Parliament chosen by the Garbled Corporations proclaim'd him a Traytor, and Attainted him: But doth the Blood of Monmouth, as well as of the fore-mentioned Conspirators, and of all those in the West, lye on the Judges, Juries, Nobility, and other Gentry of the Church of England\*, that had a hand in condemning such as by violent Methods would have restor'd the Charters. If these things could not vindicate the Presbyterian Plotters in the late King's Reign, or Monmouth's Rebellion, it cannot excuse the present Undertaking; for this doth infinitely exceed those and the Civil War too; for neither of them brought in a Foreign Power upon us, as now is done.

\* Their Loyalty, or rather Credulity, had been too notoriously abus'd, to be now again impos'd on by this Argument: So it fell on the Offerer, and rais'd a just Indignation, instead of Submission to a second Cheat.

But it must be observed, that how great soever our Grievances have been, yet now, all that Relief that can reasonably be desired, is granted us. The Ecclesiastical Commission actually broken up, the Bishop of London, the Master and Fellows of Magdalen Colledge, and the Ancient Charters of Cities and Burroughs actually restored, all things on the ancient Bottom, for the calling a Free Parliament, which His Majesty would have done before this time, had not the Prince of Orange hindred him; and as soon as the Prince of Orange departs, the King will call one; whereby all the Prince's Pretensions are taken away and nothing more remains for him to do, but to return home, or contend for the Crown.

The Redresses granted had no certainty, because the Dispensing Power was still defended,

the Bishop of London's Sentence remitted, but not declared Illegal; the Charters were restored, but still subject to new Quo Warranto's. And as for the promised Parliament, tho' it was after granted; yet so dreadful it was, that the abandoning the Throne was more eligible than the fight of that Assembly. So all this Cant produced no good effect on the exasperated Minds of M. n.

Yet the Prince would have us believe, that though he is not satisfied in this, yet he intends no such thing as the Crown, or a Conquest of it, as appears by his Highness's Additional Declaration.

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His



*His Highness's Additional Declaration.*

**A**fter we had prepared and printed this our Declaration, we have understood, that the Subverters of the Religion and Laws of those Kingdoms, hearing of our Preparations, to assist the People against them, have begun to retract some of the Arbitrary and Despotick Powers that they had assumed, and to vacate some of their Injust Judgments and Decrees. The sense of their Guilt, and the distrust of their Force, have induced them to offer to the City of London some seeming Relief from their great Oppressions; hoping thereby to quiet the People, and to divert them from demanding a Re-establishment of their Religion and Laws under the shelter of our Arms: They do also give out, That we do intend to Conquer and Enslave the Nation; and therefore it is that we have thought fit to add a few words to our Declaration.

We are confident, that no Persons can have such hard thoughts of us, as to imagine that we have any other Design in this Undertaking, than to procure a Settlement of the Religion, and of the Liberties and Properties of the Subjects upon so sure a Foundation, that there may be no danger of the Nations relapsing into the like Miseries at any time hereafter. And as the Forces that we have brought along with us, are utterly disproportioned to that wicked Design of Conquering the Nation, if we were capable of Intending it; so the great numbers of the Principal Nobility and Gentry, that are Men of Eminent Quality and Estates, and Persons of known Integrity and Zeal both for the Religion and Government of *England*, many of them being also distinguished by their constant Fidelity to the Crown, who do both accompany us in this Expedition, and have earnestly solicited us to it, will cover us from all such malicious Insinuations: For it is not to be imagined, that either those who have Invited us, or those that are already come to Assist us, can joyn in a wicked attempt of Conquest, to make void their



their own lawful Titles to their Honours, Estates and Interests. We are also confident, that all Men see how little weight there is to be laid on all Promises and Engagements that can be now made; since there has been so little regard had in time past, to the most solemn Promises. And as that imperfect Redress that is now offered, is a plain Confession of those Violations of the Government that we have set forth; so the Defectiveness of it is no less apparent: For they lay down nothing which they may not take up at pleasure; and they reserve entire, and not so much as mentioned, their Claims and Pretences to an Arbitrary and Despotick Power; which has been the Root of all their Oppression, and of the total Subversion of the Government. And it is plain, that there can be no Redress nor Remedy offered but in Parliament; by a Declaration of the Rights of the Subjects that have been invaded, and not by any Pretended Acts of Grace, to which the extremity of their Affairs has driven them. Therefore it is that we have thought fit to declare, That we will refer all to a Free Assembly of the Nation, in a Lawful Parliament.

*Given under our Hand and Seal, at our Court in the Hague, the  
Twenty fourth day of October, in the Year of our Lord 1688.*

WILLIAM HENRY, PRINCE OF ORANGE.

*By his Highness's special Command,*

C. HUYGENS.

*This.*



**T**his Addition doth very fully unfold the Design, the Prince will abide among us with a Foreign Power, and make the Choice of a Parliament impracticable, and therefore the Call of one a weak and foolish thing; and yet oblige us to distrust every Promise the King makes us, lessening what is done, and insinuating that all things shall be soon undone. And why all these Insinuations, but to help us to Unravel the whole Intrigue; which, if it be not for the Crown, must be thus: The Dutch knowing how the Prince hath ravished from them their Liberties and Privileges, and what danger they are in of being utterly undone, if Liberty of Conscience be settled among us in England, precipitate the Prince on this hazardous Undertaking, not doubting but they shall be either delivered from the Prince's Exercise of a Despotick Power over them, or spoil our Liberty, to the Continuance and Advance of their own Trade; which may be the reason why in the entrance into the Declaration, what relates to Religion is so worded as to gain the Bishops over to them, the more easily to effect their Design; for says the Declaration, The Alteration of Religion is endeavoured, and that a Religion which is contrary to Law, is endeavoured to be introduced: It is not said, that the Popish Religion, but a Religion contrary to the Law; and, it's well known, that the Laws are against the Religion of the Dissenters, and the Prince's endeavour shall be to preserve and maintain, above all, the Religion and Worship of God that is Established among us; which cannot be understood of the Worship the Dissenters use, but of the Hierarchical way, that is as contrary to the Prince's own Religion, as 'tis to that of the Dissenters in England. And to persuade the Church-men to close with him, he Declares, That he was most earnestly solicited to come over by the Lords Spiritual, not doubting, but that if the Belief thereof prevail among the Moble, they'll be all of an Opinion, that the Prince's Grounds are most just and Reasonable; so that though it cannot be made out by any thing particularly known, yet this general carrying a thousand unheard of Arguments in its Bowels cannot fail of success.

But what if this prove not True? May we afterwards venture to believe his Highness in any thing, which under a violent Temptation, he may be, as now, moved to declare? The Prince insists on it, That many of the Lords Spiritual did most earnestly sollicite him to Invade us, and yet the Lords Spiritual  
do



do not only declare, That they look on this Invasion to be sinful, but, that they never solicited his coming; And it must be acknowledged, That they could do no such thing without acting most contrary to their avowed Principles, and contrary to most solemn Oaths and Declarations; and Men should take heed, how they receive this Report against the Right Reverend Bishops; the Design in which they are said to Embarque being founded on that very Principle, in pursuance of which the Head of Charles the Blessed Martyr was brought to the Block; and Embarque they cannot, but by joyning with a Foreign Army; the chief part of which is made up of those, who though they would willingly enough ensnare our Bishops, cannot be reasonably supposed to be true in the Promises they make about supporting their Hierarchical Grandeur; the utmost they must expect in the long-run can be no more than a turning their Lands into Money, that, to the end their dependance on the Government may be the more effectually secured, instead of their present Lands, Leases, &c. they may have an Yearly Salary answerable to their worth and desert; which as 'twill be uncertain, so it cannot be hoped that its utmost height shall arise to the State and Degree of a Baron; for Baronies go with their Lands. By this you may see, how unlikely any sort of Englishmen should by this Invasion gain any thing but Misery.

How the Bishops were used on this score, is set down in its proper place.

TO this was subjoyned a short Discourse, stiled, *Animadversions upon the Declaration of his Highness the Prince of Orange.* Which is about twelve Pages in Quarto, supposed to be written by Steward, but then attributed to Castlemain; but whoever was the Author of it, it is a spruce piece of Sophistry; and he was a Person who well knew what could be said for a bad Case, and where it was not possible to make any defence, and there would insensibly glide by, as if he had not minded the difficulty.

Page 21, he has this Expression; Put it to the Nation, and all the Nation must declare, that every Man enjoys his Conscience, his Liberty, and his Property, even to the envy of their less happy Neighbors; and that there has been no proceeding against a single Man, but for his single misdemeanor; and this is not Arbitrary, but Legal Power. And then to asperse his Majesty with overturning all Laws, under the Name of Evil Counsellors! Why, Sir, let his Counsellors



*November.* Counsellors be never so bad, they are worse, whose Service his Highness has used in Penning his Declaration. By this Sample the Reader may judge of that whole Paper.

First, He useth the utmost assurance to out-face the World as to the Matter of Fact. Secondly, Pretends Redress. Thirdly, Promiseth a Parliament, when it may be denied or over-awed. Fourthly, Makes all the Prince's Assistants Traytors, and Perjur'd. And Lastly, Because the King was not accountable to his own Subjects, concludes, that neither was he so to the Prince, though a Sovereign Prince. So he was to be revered like a God, and No-body (not a Neighbour-interested Prince) was to presume to say to him, What doest thou? To that height of stupidity was their Flattery then arrived, but soon after it expired!

This is the best Abstract I can give of that Defence, which is too long to be intirely inserted in this Work, though it were to be wished a larger might in due time be published, with all the material Papers at large. This Paper was afterwards Answered; but things then had so rapid a motion, that the Reply coming too late, was scarce read or regarded. The Prince being then invited to *London* by the *Peers*, by the *Guild-Hall Declaration*.

Though there was not all that Men had fondly expected in this Declaration, yet here was enough to satisfy any rational Man, that the Expelling this Prince and his Army before our Religion, Liberties, Properties and Government were effectually settled in Parliament; and those who had so outrageously attempted the ruine of them were call'd to an Account, would certainly end in the ruine of them; and was a kind of cutting up our Laws and Religion with our Swords. This and nothing else was the cause that wherever the Prince's Declaration was read, it conquered all that saw or heard it; and it was to no purpose to excite Men to fight against their own Interest, and to destroy what was more dear to them than their Lives.

At the same time, an Extract of the States General their Resolution, *Thursday* the Twenty eighth of *October*, 1688. was also Printed privately in *London*; wherein, among other Reasons why they had intrusted the Prince of *Orange* with this Fleet and Army, is this which follows:

THE



THE King of *France* hath upon several occasions shewed *November.* himself dissatisfied with this State; which gave cause to fear and apprehend, that in case the King of *Great Britain* should happen to compass within his Kingdom, and obtain an Absolute Power over his People, that then both Kings, out of Interest of State, and Hatred and Zeal against the Protestant Religion, would endeavour to bring this State to Confusion, and, if possible, quite to subject it.

At the same time was Printed also this Letter of the Prince of *Orange*, to the Officers of the Army.

Gentlemen and Friends,

WE have given you so full and so true an Account of our Intentions in this Expedition, in our *Declaration*, that as we can add nothing to it, so we are sure you can desire nothing more of us. We are come to preserve your Religion, and to restore and establish your Liberties and Properties; and therefore we cannot suffer our selves to doubt, but that all true Englishmen will come and concur with us in our desire to secure these Nations from POPERY and SLAVERY. You must all plainly see, that you are only made use of as Instruments to enslave the Nation, and ruine the Protestant Religion; and when that is done, you may judge what ye your selves ought to expect, both from the Cashiering all the Protestant and *English* Officers and Soldiers in *Ireland*, and by the *Irish* Soldiers being brought over to be put in your Places; and of which you have seen so fresh an Instance, that we need not put you in mind of it. You know how many of your Fellow-Officers have been used, for their standing firm to the Protestant Religion, and to the Laws of *England*; and you cannot flatter your selves so far as to expect to be better used, if those who have broke their Word so often, should by your means be brought out of those streights to which they are at present reduced. We hope likewise that ye will not suffer your selves to be abused by a false Notion of Honour, but that you will in the first place consider, what you owe to Almighty God and your Religion, to your Country, to your Selves, and to your Posterity, which you, as Men of Honour,



November.

‘ Honour, ought to prefer to all private Considerations and  
 ‘ Engagements whatsoever. We do therefore expect that you  
 ‘ will consider the Honour that is now set before you, of  
 ‘ being the Instruments of serving your Country, and securing  
 ‘ your Religion; and we shall ever remember the Service you  
 ‘ shall do us upon this occasion, and will promise you, That  
 ‘ we shall place such particular Marks of our Favour on every  
 ‘ one of you, as your Behaviour at this time shall deserve of  
 ‘ us, and the Nation; in which we shall make a great distinction  
 ‘ of those that shall come seasonably to joyn their Arms  
 ‘ with ours; and you shall find us to be your well wishing and  
 ‘ assured Friend,

W. H. P. O.

This Letter was spread under-hand over the whole Kingdom, and read by all sorts of Men; and the reason of it being undeniable, it had a great force on the Spirits of the Soldiery; so that those who did not presently comply with it, yet resolved they would never strike one stroke in this Quarrel, till they had a Parliament to secure the *Religion, Laws and Liberties of England*; which the Court, on the other side, had resolved should not be granted till the Prince of *Orange*, with his Army, was expelled out of the Nation, and all those that had submitted to him (which were not many then) were reduced into their Power, to be treated as they thought fit.

In the mean time the Fleet came about from the *Buoy and Ore* to *Portsmouth*, under the Command of the Lord *Dartmouth* where it arrived the Seventeenth of *November*; and on *Monday* the Ninteenth day of *November* the King entered *Salisbury*, which was then the Head Quarters of the Army.

The Sixteenth of *November*, the Lord *Delamere* having received certain Intelligence of the landing of the Prince of *Orange* in the *West*, and seeing the *Irish* throng over in Arms, under pretence of Assisting the King, but in reality to Enslave us at home, as they had already reduced our Countrymen in *Ireland* to the lowest degree of Danger and Impudence that they have at any time been in since the Conquest of *Ireland* in the Reign of *Henry II.* he thereupon assembled  
 fifty



fifty Horsemen, and at the Head of them marched to *Manchester*; and the next day he went to *Bodon Downs*, his Forces being then an hundred and fifty strong, declaring his design was to joyn with the Prince of *Orange*. This small Party of Men by degrees drew in all the North, and could never be suppress'd.

Before his Royal Highness the Prince of *Orange* left *Exeter*, there was an *Association* drawn up, and Signed by all the Lords and Gentlemen that were with him, the Date of which I cannot assign.

WE whose Names are hereunto subscribed, who have now joyned with the Prince of *Orange* for the defence of the Protestant Religion, and for the maintaining the Ancient Government, and the Laws and Liberties of *England, Scotland and Ireland*, do engage to Almighty God, to his Highness the Prince of *Orange*, and to one another, to stick firm to this Cause, and to one another, in the defence of it, and never to depart from it, until our Religion, Laws and Liberties are so far secured to us in a Free Parliament, that we shall be no more in danger of falling under *Popery* and *Slavery*: And whereas we are engaged in this common Cause under the Protection of the Prince of *Orange*, by which in case his Person may be exposed to danger, and to the cursed attempts of *Papists*, and other bloody Men; we do therefore solemnly engage to God and one another, That if any such attempt be made upon him, we will pursue not only those who make it, but all their Adherents, and all that we find in Arms against us, with the utmost severity of a just Revenge, to their Ruine and Destruction. And that the execution of any such Attempt (which God of his infinite Mercy forbid) shall not divert us from prosecuting this Cause which we do now undertake, but that it shall engage us to carry it on with all the rigour that so barbarous a Practice shall deserve.



November.

*November* the Twentieth there happened a Skirmish at *Wincanton*, between a Detachment of seventy Horse and fifty Dragoons and Grenadiers, commanded by one Colonel *Sarsfeild*; and about thirty of the Prince of *Orange's* Men, commanded by one *Cambel*: where notwithstanding the great inequality of the Numbers, yet the latter fought with that desperate bravery, that it struck a terror into the Minds of the Army, who were otherwise sufficiently averse from fighting; and besides, the Action was every where magnified so much above the real truth, that it shew'd clearly how much Men wished the Prosperity of that Prince's Arms.

The Twenty second of *November*, the King at *Salisbury* put out a Proclamation of Pardon, which was regarded by no body.

‘**F**Orasmuch as several of our Subjects have been seduced to take up Arms, and, contrary to the Laws of God and Man, to joyn themselves with Foreigners and Strangers in a most unnatural Invasion upon us, and this their Native Country, many of whom we are persuaded have been wrought upon by false Suggestions and misrepresentations made by our Enemies: And we desiring (as far as is possible) to reduce our said Subjects to Duty and Obedience by Acts of Clemency, at least resolving to leave all such as shall persist in so wicked an Enterprize, without Excuse, do therefore promise, grant and declare, and by this our Royal Proclamation publish our Free and Absolute Pardon to all our Subjects who have taken up Arms, and joyn'd with the Prince of *Orange* and his Adherents, in the present Invasion of this our Kingdom, provided they quit and desert our said Enemies, and within the space of twenty days from the Date of this our Royal Proclamation, render themselves to some one of our Officers, Civil or Military, and do not again, after they have rendred themselves, as aforesaid, return to our Enemies, or be any way aiding or assisting to them: And they who refuse or neglect to lay hold of this our Free and Gracious Offer, must never expect our Pardon hereafter, but will be wholly and justly excluded of and from all hopes thereof. And lastly, We do



do also promise and grant our Pardon and Protection to *November.*  
all such Foreigners as do or shall come over to us, whom  
we will either entertain in our Service, or otherwise  
grant them (if they shall desire it) freedom of passage,  
and liberty to return to the respective Countries from  
whence they came.

The same day the Nobility, Gentry, and Commonalty, then  
assembled at *Nottingham*, made this Declaration.

WE the Nobility, Gentry, and Commonalty of these  
*Northern Counties*, assembled at *Nottingham*, for the  
Defence of the Laws, Religion, and Properties, according  
to the free-born Liberties and Priviledges descended to  
Us from our Ancestors, as the undoubted Birth-right of the  
Subjects of this Kingdom of *England*, (not doubting but  
the Infringers and Invaders of our Rights will represent  
us to the rest of the Nation, in the most malicious Dress  
they can put upon us) do here unanimously think it our  
Duty, to declare to the rest of our Protestant fellow-  
Subjects the grounds of our present Undertaking.

We are by innumerable Grievances made sensible, that the  
very Fundamentals of our Religion, Liberties, and Properties,  
are about to be rooted out by our late *Jesuitical Privy Council*;  
as has been of late too apparent: First, by the King's dispen-  
sing with all the Establish'd Laws at his pleasure. 2. By  
displacing all Officers out of all Offices of Trust and Ad-  
vantage, and placing others in their room, that are known  
Papists, deservedly made incapable, by the Establish'd Laws  
of this Land. 3. By destroying the Charters of most Cor-  
porations in the Land. 4. By discouraging all Persons that  
are not Papists, and preferring such as turn to Popery. 5. By  
displacing all honest and consciencious Judges, unless they  
would, contrary to their Consciences, declare that to be  
Law, which was meerly Arbitrary. 6. By branding all  
Men with the name of Rebels, that but offered to justifie  
the Laws in a legal course against the Arbitrary Procee-  
dings of the King, or any of his corrupt Ministers. 7. By  
burthening the Nation with an Army, to maintain the  
Violation of the Rights of the Subjects; and by discour-  
tenancing;



November.

‘tenancing the Established Religion. 9. By forbidding the  
 ‘Subjects the benefit of Petitioning, and construing them  
 ‘Libellers; so rendering the Laws a Nose of Wax, to  
 ‘serve their Arbitrary ends. And many more such-like,  
 ‘too long here to enumerate.

\* These Gen-  
 tlemen, who  
 now pretend  
 to such extra-  
 ordinary Loy-  
 alty, should  
 do well to  
 consider this.

‘We being thus made sadly sensible of the Arbitrary and  
 ‘Tyrannical Government, that is by the influence of Je-  
 ‘suitical Councils coming upon us, do unanimously declare,  
 ‘That not being willing to deliver our \* Posterity over to  
 ‘such a condition of *Papery* and *Slavery*, as the aforesaid op-  
 ‘pressions do inevitably threaten; we will, to the utmost  
 ‘of our power, oppose the same, by joining with the  
 ‘Prince of *Orange*, (whom, we hope, God Almighty hath  
 ‘sent to rescue us from the Oppressions aforesaid) will use  
 ‘our utmost endeavours for the recovery of our almost-  
 ‘ruin’d Laws, Liberties, and Religion; and herein we hope  
 ‘all good Protestant Subjects will with their Lives and  
 ‘Fortunes be assistant to us, and not be bug bear’d with  
 ‘the opprobrious Terms of Rebels by which they would  
 ‘fright us, to become perfect Slaves to their Tyrannical In-  
 ‘solencies and Usurpations: For we assure our selves, that  
 ‘no rational and unbiass’d Person will judge it Rebellion  
 ‘to defend our Laws and Religion, which all our Princes  
 ‘have Sworn at their Coronation; which Oath, how well  
 ‘it hath been observed of late, we desire a *Free Parliament*  
 ‘may have the consideration of.

‘We own it Rebellion to resist a King that governs  
 ‘by Law; but he was alwaies accounted a *Tyrant*, that  
 ‘made his *Will the Law*; and to resist such a one, we just-  
 ‘ly esteem no Rebellion, but a necessary Defence: And in  
 ‘this Consideration we doubt not of all honest mens assistance,  
 ‘and humbly hope for and implore the Great God’s pro-  
 ‘tection, that turneth the Hearts of His People as plea-  
 ‘seth Him best; it having been observed, that People can  
 ‘never be of one mind without His Inspiration, which  
 ‘hath in all Ages confirmed that Observation, *Vox Populi*  
 ‘*est vox Dei*.

‘The present Restoring the Charters, and reversing the  
 ‘oppressing and unjust Judgment given on *Magdalen-Col-*  
 ‘lege Fellows, is plain, are but to still the People, like  
 ‘Plumbs



‘Plumbs to Children, by deceiving them for a while: *November.*  
 ‘But if they shall by this Stratagem be fooled, till this  
 ‘present Storm that threatens the Papists be past, as soon  
 ‘as they shall be re-settled, the former Oppression will be  
 ‘put on with greater vigour; but we hope, *In vain is the*  
 ‘*Net spread in the sight of the Birds*; for, First, The Papists  
 ‘old Rule is, that *Faith is not to be kept with Hereticks*, as  
 ‘they term Protestants, tho’ the Popish Religion is the  
 ‘greatest Heresie. And, (2ly.) Queen *Mary’s* so ill obser-  
 ‘ving her Promises to the *Suffolk* men that help’d her to  
 ‘her Throne. And above all (3ly.) the Pope’s dispensing  
 ‘with the Breach of Oaths, Treaties, or Promises at his plea-  
 ‘sure, when it makes for the Service of Holy Church, as  
 ‘they term it. These, we say, are, such convincing Rea-  
 ‘sons, to hinder us from giving credit to the aforesaid  
 ‘*Mock shews* of Redress, that we think our selves bound  
 ‘in Conscience to rest on no Security that shall not be ap-  
 ‘proved by a freely-elected Parliament; To whom, under  
 ‘G O D, we referr our Cause.

In the mean time, the Nobility about the King having  
 used all the Arguments they could invent to perswade him  
 to call a Free Parliament, and finding him unmoveably  
 fixed in a contrary resolution, and the Army in great dis-  
 content, disorder, and fear, and the whole Nation just rea-  
 dy to take fire, † Prince *George* of *Denmark*, the Duke of  
*Grafton*, the Lord *Churchil*, and many others of the Prote-  
 stant Nobility, left him, and went over to the Prince of  
*Orange*, who was then at *Sherborn*; the Prince left this  
 Letter for the King.

+ It is said,  
 Prince *George*  
 came back  
 with the King  
 to *Andover*,  
 and went a-  
 way with the

Duke of *Ormond*, on Sunday night, the 25th. of *Nov.* from that place.

S I R,

‘**W**ith an Heart full of Grief am I forced to write  
 ‘what Prudence will not permit me to say to your  
 ‘Face: And may I e’er find Credit with Your Majesty,  
 ‘and Protection from Heaven, as what I now do is free  
 ‘from Passion, Vanity, or Design, with which Actions of  
 ‘this Nature are too often accompanied. I am not igno-  
 ‘rant of the frequent Mischiefs wrought in the World by  
 ‘factions



November.

factious pretences of Religion ; but were not Religion the most justifiable Cause, it would not be made the most specious pretence. And your Majesty has alwaies shewn too uninterested a Sense of Religion, to doubt the just effects of it in one, whose practices have, I hope, never given the World cause to censure his real Conviction of it ; or his backwardness to perform what his Honour and Conscience prompt him to. How then can I longer disguise my just Concern for that Religion, in which I have been so happily educated, which my Judgment thoroughly convinceth me to be the Best, and for the Support of which, I am so highly interested in my native Country ? and, Is not *England* now by the most endearing Tye become so ?

Whilst the restless Spirits of the Enemies of the REFORMED RELIGION, back'd by the cruel Zeal and prevailing Power of *France*, justly alarm and unite all the Protestant Princes of *Christendom*, and engage them in so vast an Expence for the support of it : Can I act so degenerate and mean a part, as to deny my concurrence to such worthy Endeavours, for the disabusing of your Majesty by the re-inforcement of those Laws, and re-establishment of that Government, on which alone depends the well-being of your Majesty and of the Protestant Religion in *Europe*. This, Sir, is that irresistible and only Cause that could come in competition with my Duty and Obligations to your Majesty, and be able to tear me from you ; whilst the same affectionate desire of serving you continues in me. Could I secure your person by the hazard of my Life, I should think it could not be better employed. And, would to God these your distracted Kingdoms might yet receive that satisfactory compliance from your Majesty, in all their justifiable pretensions, as might upon the only sure Foundation, that of the Love and Interest of your Subjects, establish your Government, and as strongly unite the Hearts of all your Subjects to you, as is that of,

S I R,

Your Majesty's most humble and most obedient Son and Servant.

The



The Lord *Churchil* left a Letter to the same purpose, *Novembe<sup>r</sup>*.  
which runs thus :

*S I R,*

‘ Since Men are seldom suspected of Sincerity when they  
‘ act contrary to their Interests; and tho’ my dutiful  
‘ Behaviour to your Majesty in the worst of Times (for  
‘ which I acknowledge my poor Services much overpay’d)  
‘ may not be sufficient to incline you to a charitable In-  
‘ terpretation of my Actions; yet, I hope, the great ad-  
‘ vantage I enjoy under your Majesty, which I can never  
‘ expect in any other change of Government, may reason-  
‘ ably convince your Majesty and the World, that I am  
‘ acted by an higher Principle, when I offer that Violence  
‘ to my Inclination and Interest, as to desert your Majesty  
‘ at a time, when your Affairs seem to challenge the strict-  
‘ est Obedience from all your Subjects, much more from  
‘ one who lies under the greatest personal Obligations ima-  
‘ ginable to your Majesty. This, Sir, could proceed from  
‘ nothing but the inviolable Dictates of my Conscience,  
‘ and a necessary Concern for my Religion, (which no  
‘ good man can oppose) and with which I am instructed,  
‘ nothing ought to come in competition : Heaven knows  
‘ with what Partiality my dutiful Opinion of your Majesty  
‘ hath hitherto represented those unhappy Designs, which  
‘ inconsiderate and self-interested men have framed against  
‘ your Majesty’s true Interest and the Protestant Religion.  
‘ But as I can no longer join with such, to give a pretence  
‘ by Conquest to bring them to effect, so I will alwaies,  
‘ with the hazard of my Life and Fortune, (so much your  
‘ Majesty’s due) endeavour to preserve your Royal Person,  
‘ and Lawful Rights, with all the tender Concern and du-  
‘ tiful Respect that becomes,

*S I R,*

*Your Majesty’s*

*Most dutiful and most obliged*

*Subject and Servant.*

The going off of these Great Men struck the King him-  
self with Terror and Affliction; and the Army, which  
was before in very much disorder, became thereby so full

M

of



*November.* of Fear and Suspicion, that a false Alarm being made by design or accident, on *Sunday* the 25th. of *November*, the King and the whole Army left *Salisbury*; the Army retreating to *Reading*, and the King to *Andover*, and on *Monday* the 26th. of *November* returned in the Evening to *London*. The Princess *Ann* of *Denmark*, his second Daughter, was gone privately the night before from *Whitehall*, with the Lady *Churchil*; and if she had not left a Letter too behind her, which shew'd the reason of her retiring, in all probability, all the Popish Party about *Whitehall* had been cut in pieces by the King's own Guards, upon a surmise they had made away this beloved Princess: So that they were forced to print her Letter to the Queen, to secure themselves from Violence.

The first thing the King did after his return to *London*, was, to remove Sir *Edward Hales* from being Lieutenant of the *Tower*, and to put Sir *Bevil Skelton*, a Protestant, in his place. Sir *Edward* had angered the whole City to the utmost, by planting several Mortar-pieces on the Walls towards the City, which tho' designed only to awe it, had enraged more than frightened them. So that His Majesty saw he was not safe at *Whitehall*, as long as Sir *Edward* was Master of the *Tower*.

The 28th. day His Majesty ordered in a Privy-Council the Lord Chancellor to issue out Writs for the Sitting of a Parliament at *Westminster*, the 15th. day of *January* following: But it was now too late, and the Nation was in that Ferment, that it was not much regarded what the Court did or said.

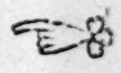
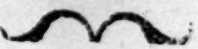
The 30th. day of *November*, the King, to appease the Minds of the People, issued out this Proclamation:

‘**W**EE have thought fit, as the best and most proper means to Establish a lasting Peace in this our Kingdom, to call a Parliament, and have therefore ordered our Chancellor to cause Writs to be issued forth for summoning a Parliament to meet at *Westminster*, upon the Fifteenth day of *January* next ensuing the Date of this our Royal Proclamation. And, that nothing may be wanting on our part, towards the Freedom of Elections, as we have



have already restored all Cities, Towns Corporate, and Burroughs throughout our Kingdom, to their ancient Charters, Rights, and Priviledges; so we command and require all Persons whatsoever, that they presume not by Menace or any other undue means, to influence Elections, or procure the Vote of any Elector. And we do also strictly require and command all Sheriffs, Mayors, Bailiffs, and other Officers, to whom the Execution or Return of any Writ, Summons, Warrant, or Precept, for Members to the ensuing Parliament shall belong; that they cause such Writ, Summons, Warrant, or Precept, to be duly published and executed, and Returns thereupon fairly made, according to the true merits of such Elections.

November.



And for the Security of all Persons both in their Elections and Service in Parliament, we do hereby publish and declare, That all our Subjects shall have free Liberty to elect, and all our Peers, and such as shall be elected Members of our House of Commons, shall have free Liberty and Freedom to serve and sit in Parliament, notwithstanding they have taken Arms, or committed any act of Hostility, or been any way aiding or assisting therein. And for the better assurance hereof, We have graciously directed a general Pardon to our Subjects, to be forthwith prepared to pass our Great Seal.

And for the reconciling all publick Breaches, and obliterating the very Memory of all past Miscarriages, We do hereby exhort and kindly admonish all our Subjects to dispose themselves to elect such persons for their Representatives in Parliament, as may not be byassed by Prejudice or Passion, but qualify'd with Parts, Experience, and Prudence, proper for this Conjunction, and agreeable to the ends and purposes of this our Gracious Proclamation.



The Account of this Resolution going to the Fleet, all the Officers and the Admirals drew up this Address:

December.





December.

To the KING'S Most Excellent Majesty ;

*The Humble Address of George Lord Dartmouth, Admiral of your Majesty's Fleet, for the present Expedition ; and the Commanders of your Majesty's Ships of War, now actually at the Spithead, in your Majesty's Service, under his Lordship's Command.*

*Most Dread Sovereign,*

THE deep Sense we have had of the great Dangers your Majesty's Sacred Person has been in, and the great effusion of Christian Blood that threatned this your Majesty's Kingdoms, and in all probability would have been shed, unless God of His infinite Mercy had put it into your Majesty's Heart to call a Parliament, the only means, in our Opinions, under the Almighty, left to quiet the Minds of your People ; we do give your Majesty our most humble and hearty Thanks for your gracious Condescension; beseeching Almighty God to give your Majesty all imaginable Happiness and Prosperity, and to grant, that such Counsels and Resolutions may be promoted, as conduce to your Majesty's Honour and Safety, and tend to the Peace and Settlement of this Realm, both in Church and State, according to the established Laws of the Kingdom.

Signed———

On board the Resolution, at Spithead,  
Decemb. 1. 1688.

*Dartmouth.  
Berkley.  
Ro. Strickland.*

And under them, by 38 other Commanders.

In the week following, the pretended Prince of Wales was sent down to Portsmouth, with Orders to the Lord Dartmouth to send him under a good Convoy with his Nurse into France. This he was said to have utterly refused ; whereupon he was brought back to London again on Saturday Dec. 8. and the Queen resolved to go over with him her self ; and



and not contented with this, extorted from the King a Promise *December.* to follow her himself: Which was the very worst Counsel the worst Enemy he had in the World could possibly have given him.

But to return back, *Scotland* was by this time almost in as bad a condition as *England*, and some of the Nobility and Gentry of *Scotland* were sent up with a Petition for a Free Parliament; and the Popish Chapels at *York*, *Bristol*, *Glocester*, *Worcester*, *Shrewsbury*, *Stafford*, *Woolverhampton*, *Bromidgham*, *Cambridge*, and *St. Edmond's Bury*, were about this time demolished, and wherever the Lords in Arms came, the Papists were disarmed: And in *Norfolk*, the Duke of *Norfolk*, their Lord-Lieutenant, had a great appearance of the Gentry with him, where he and they declared for a Free Parliament, and the Protection of the Protestant Religion. This meeting was at *Norwich* the First of *December*, and after that, the same Declaration was renewed at *Yarmouth*, and the *Suffolk* men approved of it, but wanted a Lord-Lieutenant to assemble and head them, in order to the shewing their concurrence with safety.

*Bristol* was seized by the Earl of *Shrewsbury* and Sir *John Guise*; the Lord *Lovelace* was delivered by the Gentry of *Gloucestershire*, out of the Castle of *Gloucester*, where till then he had been imprisoned. The Lords, *Molineux* and *Aston*, in the mean time seized *Chester* for the King, being R.C's, and *Berwick* stood firm to him too; but *New-Castle* received the Lord *Lumley*, and Declared for a Free Parliament and the Protestant Religion: *York* was in the hands of the associated Lords; and the Garrison of *Hull* seized the Lord *Langdale* their Governour, a Papist; and the Lord *Montgomery*, and disarmed some Popish Forces newly sent thither, and then Declared for a Free Parliament and the Protestant Religion: And *Plimouth* had long before submitted to the Prince of *Orange*: And the Army at *Reading*, upon another false Alarm on *Saturday* the 8th. of *December*, retired in great haste to *Twyford Bridge*, and endeavouring to regain their post, a Party of the Prince's men, who were sent for by the Inhabitants of *Reading*, upon their threatening to plunder and fire the Town, attacked the Irish Dragoons, and slew Fifty of them, the Irish making little Defence, tho' the Prince's Party



*December.* Party were much fewer in number, because they believed the whole Army was at hand.

The Popish Party was become so contemptible in *London*, that on *Thursday* the Sixth of *December* there was an *Hue and Cry* after *Father Peters*, publicly cried and sold in the Streets of *London*. But this was not the worst neither; for about the same time came forth this following Declaration, in the Name of the Prince of *Orange*.

*By his Highness William Henry, Prince of Orange,  
A Third Declaration.*

WE have in the course of our whole life, more particularly by the apparent hazards both by Sea and Land, to which we have so lately exposed our Person, given to the whole World so high and undoubted Proofs of our fervent Zeal for the Protestant Religion, that we are fully confident no true Englishman and good Protestant can entertain the least Suspicion of our firm Resolution, rather to spend our dearest Blood and perish in the Attempt, than not to carry on the blessed and glorious Design, which by the favour of Heaven we have so successfully begun, to rescue *England, Scotland and Ireland* from SLAVERY and POPERY, and in a *Free Parliament* to Establish the Religion, the Laws, and the Liberties of these Kingdoms on such a sure and lasting Foundation, that it shall not be in the Power of any Prince for the future to introduce *Popery and Tyranny*.

Towards the more easie compassing this great Design, we have not been hitherto deceived in the just Expectation we had of the concurrence of the Nobility, Gentry, and People of *England* with us, for the Security of their Religion, and the Restitution of the Laws, and the Re-establishment of their Liberties and Properties: Great numbers of all Ranks and Qualities having joyned themselves to us; and others, at great distances from us, have taken up Arms and Declared for Us. And which we cannot but particularly mention in that Army which was raised to be the Instrument of *Slavery and Papery*, many  
(by



December.

(by the special Providence of God) both Officers and common Soldiers have been touched with such a feeling sense of Religion, and Honour, and of true Affection to their Native Country, that they have already deserted the illegal Service they were engaged in, and have come over to Us, and have given us full assurance from the rest of the Army, That they will certainly follow this Example, as soon as with our Army we shall approach near enough to receive them without hazard of being prevented and betray'd. To which end, and that we may the sooner execute this just and necessary Design we are engaged in for the publick Safety and Deliverance of these Nations, We are resolved, with all possible diligence, to advance forward, that a *Free Parliament* may be forthwith called, and such Preliminaries adjusted with the King, and all things first settled upon such a foot according to Law, as may give us and the whole Nation just reason to believe the King is disposed to make such necessary Condescension on his part, as will give entire Satisfaction and Security to all, and make both King and People once more happy.

And that we may effect all this in the way most agreeable to our desires, if it be possible, without the effusion of any Blood, except of those execrable Criminals who have justly forfeited their Lives, for betraying the Religion, and subverting the Laws of their Native Country, we do think fit to declare, that as we will offer no violence to any but in our own necessary defence; so we will not suffer any injury to be done to the Person even of any Papist, provided he be found in such place and condition and circumstances as the Laws require. So we are resolved and do declare, That all Papists who shall be found in open Arms, or with Arms in their Houses, or about their Persons, or in any Office or Employment Civil or Military, upon any pretence whatsoever, contrary to the known Laws of the Land, shall be treated by Us and our Forces, not as Soldiers and Gentlemen, but as Robbers, Free-booters, and *Banditti*: They shall be incapable of Quarter, and intirely delivered up to the Discretion of our Soldiers. And we do further declare, That all Persons who shall be found any ways aiding and assisting to them,



December.

‘ them, or shall march under their Command, or shall joyn  
 ‘ with, or submit to them in the discharge or execution of  
 ‘ their illegal Commissions or Authority, shall be looked  
 ‘ upon as Partakers of their Crimes, Enemies to the Laws,  
 ‘ and to their Country.

‘ And whereas we are certainly informed, that great num-  
 ‘ bers of Armed Papists have of late resorted to *London*  
 ‘ and *Westminster*, and Parts adjacent, where they remain, as  
 ‘ we have reason to suspect, not so much for their own Se-  
 ‘ curity, as out of a wicked and barbarous Design to make  
 ‘ some desperate Attempts upon the said Cities, and the  
 ‘ Inhabitants, by Fire, or a sudden Massacre, or both, or  
 ‘ else to be the more ready to joyn themselves to a Body  
 ‘ of *French* Troops, designed, if it be possible, to land in  
 ‘ *England*, procured of the *French* King by the Interest and  
 ‘ Power of the Jesuits in pursuance of the Engagements,  
 ‘ which, at the Instigation of that pestilent Society, his  
 ‘ Most Christian Majesty, with one of his Neighbouring  
 ‘ Princes of the same Communion, has entred into, for the  
 ‘ utter Extirpation of the Protestant Religion out of *Europe*.  
 ‘ Though we hope we have taken such effectual care to  
 ‘ prevent the one, and secure the other, that by God’s  
 ‘ assistance, we cannot doubt but we shall defeat all their  
 ‘ wicked Enterprises and Designs.

‘ We cannot however forbear, out of our great and ten-  
 ‘ der concern we have to preserve the People of *England*,  
 ‘ and particularly those great and populous Cities, from  
 ‘ the cruel Rage, and bloody Revenge of the Papists, to  
 ‘ require and expect from all the Lord-Lieutenants, and  
 ‘ Justices of the Peace, Lord Mayors, Mayors, Sheriffs, and other  
 ‘ Magistrates and Officers Civil and Military, of all Coun-  
 ‘ ties, Cities and Towns of *England*, especially of the  
 ‘ County of *Middlesex*, and Cities of *London* and *Westmin-*  
 ‘ *ster*, and Parts adjacent, that they do immediately disarm  
 ‘ and secure, as by Law they may and ought, within their  
 ‘ respective Counties, Cities and Jurisdictions, all *Papists*  
 ‘ whatsoever, as Persons at all times, but now especially,  
 ‘ most dangerous to the Peace and Safety of the Govern-  
 ‘ ment, that so not only all power of doing Mischief may  
 ‘ be taken from them, but that the Laws, which are the  
 ‘ greatest



'greatest and best Security, may resume their force, and be *December.*  
'strictly executed.

'And we do hereby likewise declare, That we will  
'protect and defend all those who shall not be afraid to  
'to do their Duty in Obedience to these Laws. And that  
'for those Magistrates and others, of what condition soever  
'they be, who shall refuse to assist Us, and in Obedience to  
'the Laws to execute vigorously what we have required  
'of them, and suffer themselves at this juncture, to be cajoled  
'or terrified out of their Duty, we will esteem them the  
'most Criminal and Infamous of all Men, Betrayers of  
'their Religion, the Laws, and their Native Country, and  
'shall not fail to treat them accordingly; resolving to ex-  
'pect and require at their hands the Life of every single  
'Protestant that shall perish, and every House that shall  
'be burnt and destroyed by Treachery and Cowardize.

*Given under our Hand and Seal, at our Head Quarters at Sherburn  
Castle, the Twenty eighth of November, 1688.*

WILLIAM HENRY, PRINCE OF ORANGE.

*By his Highness's special Command,*

C. HUYGENS.

This was the boldest Attempt that ever was made by  
a private Person; for it is certain the Prince knew nothing  
of this *Declaration*, and disowned it so soon as he heard  
of it; but yet it was printed in *London*, and a quantity of  
them were sent in a Penny-Post Letter to the Lord Mayor  
of *London*, who forthwith carried them to the King to *White-  
hall*; and it is thought this sham Paper contributed very much  
to the fixing and hastning his Resolution of leaving the Nati-  
on: however there was no enquiry made after the Author or  
Printer of it that I could take notice of.

On *Sunday* the Ninth of *December* it is said Count *Dada*,  
the Pope's *Nuncio*, and many others departed from *Whitehall*,  
and the next Morning about three or four of the Clock the  
N Queen,



*December.* Queen, the Child and (as was said) Father *Peters* crossed the Water to *Lambeth* in three Coaches, each of six Horses, and with a strong Guard went to *Greenwich*, and so to *Gravesend*, where they embarked on a Yatch for *France*: And it is supposed she carried the Great Seal of *England* with her, it having never appeared after this.

Before this the Marquis of *Hallifax*, the Earl of *Nottingham*, and the Lord *Godolphin*, had been sent by the King and Council to treat with the Prince of *Orange*, and to adjust the Preliminaries in order to the holding of a Parliament, who the Eighth of *December* sent these Proposals to him.

S I R,

‘THE King commanded us to acquaint you, That he observeth all the differences and causes of Complaint alledged by your Highness, seem to be referred to a Free Parliament.

‘His Majesty, as he hath already declared, was resolved before this to call one, but thought that in the present state of Affairs, it was advisable to defer it till things were more composed; yet seeing that his People still continue to desire it, he hath put forth his Proclamation in order to it, and hath issued forth his Writs for the Calling of it.

‘And to prevent any cause of Interruption in it, he will consent to every thing that can be reasonably required for the Security of all those that come to it.

‘His Majesty hath therefore sent us to attend your Highness, for the adjusting of all Matters that shall be agreed to be necessary to the Freedom of Elections, and the Security of Sitting, and is ready to enter immediately into a Treaty in order to it.

‘His Majesty proposeth, that in the mean time the respective Armies may be retained within such Limits, and at such distance from *London*, as may prevent the Apprehensions that the Parliament may be in any kind disturbed, being desirous that the Meeting may be no longer



‘longer delay’d, than it must be by the usual and necessary *December*.  
Forms.

*Hungerford, the 8th  
of December, 1688.*

*Hallifax,  
Nottingham,  
Godolphin.*

To this his Royal Highness the Prince of *Orange* return’d  
this Answer.

‘**W**E, with the Advice of the Lords and Gentlemen  
‘assembled with Us, have in Answer made these  
‘following Proposals.

‘I. That all Papists, and such Persons as are not qualified  
‘by Law, be Disarmed, Disbanded, and removed from all  
‘Employments Civil and Military.

‘II. That all Proclamations that reflect upon Us, or at  
‘any time have come to Us, or declared for Us, be re-  
‘called; and that if any Persons for having assisted Us  
‘have been Committed, that they be forthwith set at Li-  
‘berty.

‘III. That for the Security and Safety of the City of  
‘*London*, the Custody and Government of the Tower be  
‘immediately put into the Hands of the said City.

‘IV. That if His Majesty should think fit to be in *Lon-*  
‘*don*, during the Sitting of the Parliament, that We may  
‘be there also, with an equal number of our Guards; and  
‘if his Majesty shall be pleased to be in any place from  
‘*London*, whatever distance he thinks fit, that We may be  
‘the same distance, and that the respective Armies be from  
‘*London* forty Miles, and that no further Forces be brought  
‘into the Kingdom.

‘V. And that for the Security of the City of *London*, and  
‘their Trade, *Tilbury* Fort be put into the Hands of the  
‘City.

‘VI. That a sufficient part of the Publick Revenue be  
‘assigned us, for the Support and Maintenance of our Troops,  
‘until the Sitting of a Free Parliament.



December.

‘ VII. That to prevent the landing of the *French*, or other  
 ‘ Foreign Troops, *Portsmouth* may be put into such Hands, as  
 ‘ by His Majesty and Us shall be agreed on.

*Tilbury-Fort* was then Garison’d by the *Irish*, and  
 there were a great many of them and other *Papists* in  
*Portsmouth*.

This Answer was sent to His Majesty on *Monday* the  
 Tenth of *December* by an Express; yet he resolved to leave  
 the Town, and ordered all those Writs for the Sitting of  
 the Parliament, that were not sent out, to be burnt, and a  
*Caveat* to be entred against the making use of those that  
 were sent down. And at the same time he sent Order to  
 the Earl of *Feverham*, to Disband the Army, and Dismiss  
 the Soldiers.

The Letter to the Earl of *Feverham* was in this Form.

‘ **T**Hings being come to that Extremity, that I have been  
 ‘ forced to send away the Queen, and my Son the Prince  
 ‘ of *Wales*, that they might not fall into the Enemies Hands,  
 ‘ which they must have done if they had stay’d: I am  
 ‘ obliged to do the same thing, in hopes it will please God,  
 ‘ out of his infinite Mercy to this unhappy Nation, to touch  
 ‘ their Hearts again with true Loyalty and Honour. If I  
 ‘ could have rely’d on all my Troops, I might not have  
 ‘ been put to the Extremity I now am in, and would at least  
 ‘ have had one blow for it. But though I know there are many  
 ‘ and brave Men among you, both Officers and Soldiers;  
 ‘ yet you know, that both you, and several of the General  
 ‘ Officers and Soldiers, and Men of the Army, told me,  
 ‘ It was no ways advisable for me, to venture my self at  
 ‘ their Head, or to think to fight the Prince of *Orange*  
 ‘ with them.

‘ And now there remains only for me to thank you, and  
 ‘ all those, both Officers and Soldiers, who have stuck to  
 ‘ me, and been truly Loyal. I hope you will still retain the  
 ‘ same Fidelity to me; and though I do not expect you  
 ‘ should expose your selves, by resisting a Foreign Army,  
 ‘ and a Poyson’d Nation; yet I hope your former Principles  
 ‘ are



'are so inrooted in you, that you will keep your selves free *December.*  
'from Associations, and such pernicious things. Time presseth  
'so that I can add no more.

James Rex.

The Earl of *Feversham*, presently after the receipt of this Letter, Disbanded Four thousand Men, which was all the Army he had then with him, and under his Command; after which he sent this Letter to the Prince of *Orange*.

S I R,

'HAving received this Morning a Letter from His Ma-  
'jesty, with the unfortunate News of his Resolution  
'to go out of *England*; I thought my self obliged, being  
'at the Head of his Army, and having received his Orders,  
'to make no Opposition against any body; to let your High-  
'ness know it, with the Advice of the Officers here, so soon  
'as was possible, to hinder the effusion of Blood. I have  
'ordered already, to that purpose, all the Troops that are  
'under my Command; which shall be the last Order they  
'shall receive from

*Feversham.*

This was to all intents and purposes a clear and full *Abdication* or *Desertion* of the Army, and put them under an inevitable necessity of submitting to the Prince of *Orange*; they having no body to Lead or Head them against him. And it is not conceivable how they could keep themselves from entring into an *Association*, or *Oath of Allegiance* to the Prince, now he was gone, without *exposing themselves*, by *resisting a Foreign Army, and a Poyson'd Nation*. For neither could the Nation long continue without a Prince, nor would any Person that succeeded in that Capacity, have ever suffered them to live within his Government, without giving him Security by Oath, for their Submission and Loyalty to him: So that the whole design of this Letter seems to be the Sowing a Division in the Nation; that at the same time he left us, we might not unite or settle our selves under the



*December.* the other, but by our *Principles* be divided, that so he might the more easily reduce us again into the State we were in, when the Prince first designed his Expedition against *England*.

This being done, about Three of the Clock in the morning, *December* the 11th. the King went down the River in a small Boat, towards *Gravesend*: The principal Officers of the Army about the Town thereupon met about Ten of the Clock at *Whitehall*, and sent an Express to the Prince of *Orange*, to acquaint him with the Departure of the King, and to assure him, that they would assist the Lord Mayor, to keep the City quiet till his Highness came, and made the Souldiery to enter into his Service.

Much about the same time, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal about the Town came to *Guildhall*, and sending for the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, made the following Declaration.

*The Declaration of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in and about the Cities of London and Westminster, Assembled at Guild-Hall the 11th. of December, 1688.*

WE doubt not but the World believes, that in this great and dangerous Conjunction we are heartily and zealously concerned for the Protestant Religion, the Laws of the Land, and the Liberties and Properties of the Subject. And we did reasonably hope, that the King having issued out his Proclamation and Writs for a Free Parliament, we might have rested secure under the expectation of that Meeting: But His Majesty having withdrawn himself, and, as we apprehend, in order to his departure out of this Kingdom, by the pernicious Counsels of Persons ill affected to our Nation and Religion, we cannot, without being wanting to our Duty, be silent under those Calamities, wherein the Popish Counsels which so long prevailed, have miserably involved these Realms. We do therefore unanimously resolve to apply our selves to his Highness the Prince of *Orange*, who with so great  
Kind-



' Kindness to these Kingdoms, so vast Expence, and so much Hazard, hath undertaken, by endeavouring to procure a Free Parliament, to rescue us (with as little effusion of Christian Blood as possible) from the imminent Dangers of Popery and Slavery. December.

' And we do hereby declare, That we will with our utmost Endeavours assist his Highness, in the obtaining such a Parliament with all speed, wherein our Laws, our Liberties and Properties may be secured, the Church of England in particular, with a due Liberty to Protestant Dissenters, and in general, the Protestant Religion and Interest, over the whole World, may be supported and encouraged, to the Glory of GOD, the Happiness of the Established Government in these Kingdoms, and the Advantage of all Princes and States in Christendom, that may be herein concerned.

' In the mean time we will endeavour to preserve, as much as in us lies, the Peace and Security of these great and populous Cities of London and Westminster, and the parts adjacent, by taking care to disarm all Papists, and secure all Jesuits and Romish Priests, who are in or about the same.

' And if there be any thing more to be performed by Us, for promoting his Highness's Generous Intentions for the Publick Good, we shall be ready to do it as occasion requires.

Signed

W. Cant.

T. Ebor.

Pembroke.

Dorset.

Malgrave.

Thanet.

Carlisle.

Craven.

Ailesbury.

Burlington.

Suffex.

Berkeley.

Rochester.

Newport.

Weymouth.

P. Winchester.

W. Asaph.

F. Ely.

Tho. Roffen.

Tho. Petriburg.

P. Wharton.

North and Grey.

Chandois.

Montague.

T. Fermyn.

Vaughan Carbery.

Culpeper.

Crane.

Osulston.

Whereas



December.

Whereas His Majesty hath privately this Morning with-  
 drawn himself, we the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, whose  
 Names are hereunto Subscribed, being assembled in *Guild-  
 Hall* in *London*, having agreed upon and Signed a Decla-  
 ration of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, in and about  
 the Cities of *London* and *Westminster*, assembled at *Guild-  
 Hall* the 11th. of *December*, 1688. do desire the Right Ho-  
 nourable the Earl of *Pembroke*, the Right Honourable the  
 Lord Viscount *Weymouth*, the Right Reverend Father in  
 God the Lord Bishop of *Ely*, and the Right Honourable  
 the Lord *Culpeper*, forthwith to attend His Highness the  
 Prince of *Orange* with the said Declaration, and at the  
 same time to acquaint His Highness with what we have  
 further done at this Meeting. Dated at *Guild-Hall* the  
 11th. of *December*, 1688.

The same day the Lieutenancy of *London* Signed this  
 following Address to the Prince of *Orange* at *Guild-Hall*, and  
 sent it by Sir *Robert Clayton*, Knight, Sir *William Russel*, Sir  
*Basil Firebrace*, Knights, and *Charles Duncomb*, Esquire.

May it please your Highness,

WE can never sufficiently express the deep Sense  
 we have conceived and shall ever retain in our  
 Hearts, that your Highness has exposed your Person to  
 so many Dangers by Sea and Land, for the preservation  
 of the Protestant Religion, and the Laws and Liberties  
 of this Kingdom, without which unparallel'd Undertaking,  
 we must probably have suffered all the Miseries that *Pe-  
 pery* and *Slavery* could have brought upon us.

We have been greatly concerned, that before this time  
 we had not any seasonable opportunity, to give your High-  
 ness and the World a real Testimony, That it has been  
 our firm Resolution to venture all that is dear to us, to  
 attain those Glorious Ends which your Highness has  
 propos'd for restoring and settling these distracted Na-  
 tions.

We therefore now unanimously present to your High-  
 ness our just and due acknowledgments for that happy re-  
 lief



‘ lief you have brought to us ; and that we may not be *December.*  
 ‘ wanting in this present Conjuncture, we have put our  
 ‘ selves into such a posture, that (by the Blessing of God)  
 ‘ we may be capable to prevent all ill Designs, and to  
 ‘ preserve this City in Peace and Safety, till your Highness’s  
 ‘ happy Arrival.

‘ We therefore humbly desire, that your Highness will  
 ‘ please to repair to this City with what convenient speed  
 ‘ you can, for the perfecting the Great Work which your  
 ‘ Highness has so happily begun, to the general joy and sa-  
 ‘ tisfaction of us all.

After his Highness had certain Intelligence, that the King  
 was gone back to *London*, he came forward by easie Jour-  
 neys, and entered *Salisbury* on *Tuesday* the 4th. of *Decem-*  
*ber*. The 5th. the Earl of *Oxford* came thither to him.  
 The same day, the Lord *Herbert* of *Cherbury*, and Sir *Edw.*  
*Harley*, and most of the Gentry of *Worcestershire* and *Herc-*  
*fordshire*, met at *Worcester*, and Declared for the Prince of  
*Orange*. *Ludlow* Castle was also taken in for him by the  
 Lord *Herbert* and Sir *Walter Blunt*, and the Popish Sheriff  
 of *Worcester* secured in it by that Peer. The 7th. of *De-*  
*cember* his Highness came on to *Hungerford*; the 8th. the  
 Lords sent by the King came thither to him, and had the  
 Dispatch I have mentioned; and after Dinner, he went to  
*Lidcot*. The 14th. his Highness entered *Windsor* about Two  
 of the Clock in the Afternoon.

The King in his departure put himself aboard a small  
*Yatch* or *Smack*, commanded by one Captain *Sanders*, but  
 was forced for shelter to take into *East Swale*, (the Eastern  
 part of the Isle of *Sheppy*) in order to the taking in Bal-  
 last; where the Inhabitants of *Feverham* in *Kent* being out to  
 take up Jesuits and other suspected Persons, found this small  
 Vessel and seized it, on *Wednesday* the 12th. of *December*;  
 there were then present with him Sir *Edward Hales* and  
 Mr. *Labady*, and none of them being known at first, they  
 were very ill treated by the Seamen, and brought up to  
*Feverham* as suspicious Persons: The King being come  
 there, and by that time known, he lodged that night at the  
 Mayor’s House, and sent for the Earl of *Winchelsea*, the  
 Lord Lieutenant of that County to come to him.



December.



The Lord *Feversham* having received a Letter from the King, the 11th. of *December*, disbanded Four Thousand Men (which was all the Army was left) at *Uxbridge*, where their head Quarters then were, as I have said. The same day the Dutch Officers taken in the Fly-boat, and till then Imprisoned in *Newgate*, were Discharged.

The 12th. of *December* the Lords Spiritual and Temporal sate in the Council-Chamber at *Whitehall*, and it was absolutely necessary they should, the noise of the King's withdrawing having put the Rabble of *London* into such a Ferment, as has scarce been seen. That Night they demolished the Popish Convent and Chappel at *St. John's*, (which they had attempted before the King went away, and had hardly been prevented, from destroying it, by the Death of three or four Persons) the Convent and Chappel of Fryars in *Lincolns Inn-Fields*, and the Popish Chapels in *Lime-street* and *Bucklers-Berry*, and the Chapel at *Wild-house*, which was the Residence of the Spanish Ambassador. Out of the Materials of these Buildings they made great Piles, and at Night fired them instead of Bon-fires, and the number that ran together was incredible, and very terrible, not only to the Roman Catholicks, but to all considering men, who did reflect seriously on the nature of the Times and the rage of the People. The same day therefore the Lords put out an Order for the discovery of the Goods taken from the Spanish Ambassador, promising a good Reward, and commanding all Books and Papers taken out of his Library, to be brought to the Council-Chamber in *Whitehall*.

The same day the late Lord Chancellor *Jeffreys* was taken at *Wapping* in a disguise, and sent to the *Tower* first by the Lord Mayor, which after was confirm'd by the Peers and Privy Council.

The 13th. an Account being brought, that the King was taken at *Feversham*, several of his Servants went down to him; but I do not find the Peers or Council sate that day.

The 14th. the Privy Council and Peers met again, and made this Order :

‘We



WE the Peers of this Realm, assembled with some of the Lords of the Privy-Council, do hereby require all *Irish* Officers and Souldiers to repair forthwith to the respective Bodies to which they do or did lately belong; and do hereby declare, that behaving themselves peaceably, they shall have Subsistence pay'd them, till they shall be otherwise provided for or imployed. And the said Officers and Souldiers are to deliver up their Arms to some of the Officers of the Ordnance, who are to deposite the same in the Stores in the Tower of *London*. And we do require and command all Justices of the Peace, Constables, and other Officers whom it may concern, that they apprehend and seize all such Souldiers as shall not repair to their respective Bodies, and that they be dealt with as Vagabonds.

Given at the Council-Chamber at Whitehall the Fourteenth of December, 1688.

Tho. Ebor.  
Hallifax.  
Dorset.  
Carlisle.  
Crawen.  
Nottingham.

Rochester.  
N. Duresme.  
P. Winchester.  
North and Grey.  
J. Trevor.  
J. Titus.

It was but time to put out this Order; for, on *Thursday* morning the 13th. of *December*, about Three of the Clock, there was a dreadful Alarm, that the *Irish*, in a desperate Rage, were approaching the City putting Men, Women, and Children to the Sword as they came along; whereupon the Citizens all rose, placing Lights in their Windows from top to bottom, and guarded every man his own Doors, with his Musquet charged with Bullet; and all the Trainbands in the City were assembled; and there was nothing but shooting and beating of Drums all night. This Alarm spread it self the whole length and breadth of the Kingdom of *England*, and all that were able to bear Arms appeared at their several places, vowing the Defence of their Lives, Religion, Laws and Liberties, and resolving to destroy all the *Irish* and Papists in *England*, in



*December.* case any injury were offered them; but then there were very few Papists slain in these Tumults and Frights, but their Houses were generally rifled on pretence of searching for Arms and Ammunition.

The Lords, after this, sent the Lords, *Feversham, Ailesbury, Yarmouth, and Middleton*, most humbly to entreat the King to return to *Whitehall*; and ordered his Guards to go down to him, to see him safe on board any Ship he should chuse, if he persisted in his Resolution to go out of the Nation. With them went the Servants of his Household, to carry him Money and Cloaths, all he had of the former being taken from him by the Seamen, and his Cloaths rent and torn in the searching of him before he was known, as he had in part signified in a Letter to the Lord *Feversham*. Now considering the whole Nation, in a manner, had submitted to the Prince of *Orange*, before the King was heard of, after he had withdrawn himself, it had perhaps been but reasonable to have suspended the inviting him back to *Whitehall*, till they had received his Consent, or at least asked it, or had called a greater Assembly of the Peers than that day met.

The 12th. day the four Lords sent by the Peers, with four Aldermen and eight of the Common Council of *London*, parted to wait upon the Prince of *Orange*, with the Declaration signed by the Body of the Peers the day before, at *Guildhall*.

The 15th. the King removed to *Rocheſter*, in order to his Return to *London*, and some of his Troops of Guard went down thither to him: And the next day, being *Sunday*, he returned about Five in the Evening to *Whitehall*, attended by one Troop of Grenadiers, and three Troops of Life-Guard, a Set of Boys following him through the City, and making some *Hurra's*, whilst the rest of the People silently looked on. His Highness the Prince of *Orange*, who was then at *Windsor*, had sent Monsieur *Zuleſtein* to the King, to desire him to continue at *Rocheſter*, but he missing him, the King came to *Whitehall*, and from thence sent the Lord *Feverſham* with a Letter to the Prince to *Windsor*, to invite him to *St. James's* with what number of Troops he should think fit to bring with him, he could now do no otherwise, his



own Army having been disbanded by his own order, all the Forts in *England*, except *Portsmouth*, being in the Prince's hands, and *London*, and almost all the Peers in his absence having sent their Submission, and inviting him to come forthwith to Town, to take upon him the Care of the City. December.

This Letter being by the Prince referred to the Peers that were then at *Windsor*, they concluded that the shortness of the time could admit no better Expedient, than that the King might be desired to remove to some place within a reasonable distance from *London*; and *Ham*, a House belonging to the Dutchess of *Landerdale*, was pitched upon, and a Note or Paper to that purpose drawn up, which was ordered to be delivered after the Prince's Guards were in Possession of the Posts about *Whitchall*.

WE desire you the Lord Marquiss of *Hallifax*, the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, and the Lord *Delamere*, to tell the King, That it is thought convenient, for the great quiet of the City, and the greater safety of his Person, that he do remove to *Ham*, where he shall be attended by his Guards, who will be ready to preserve him from any disturbance.

Given at *Windsor*, the Seventeenth of December, 1688.

W. Prince de Orange.

Monfieur *Zulestein* followed the King to *London*, and there delivered his Letter, and the Sixteenth returned to *Windsor*. The Earl of *Feverham* went the same day with the Letter to the Prince, which was mentioned above, and was by him committed to the Castle of *Windsor*.

The



*December.*

The King, so soon as ever he came to *Whitehall*, issued out this Order of Council.

*At the Court at Whitehall, the Sixteenth day of December, 1688.*

Present

*The King's most Excellent Majesty,*

Duke Hamilton,  
Earl of Craven,  
Earl of Berkley,  
Earl of Middleton,

Lord Viscount Preston,  
Lord Godolphin,  
Master of the Rolls,  
Mr. Titus.

**H**IS Majesty being given to understand, That divers Outrages and Disorders are committed in several Parts of the Kingdom, by Burning, Pulling-down, and otherwise defacing Houses, and other Buildings, and Rifling and Plundering the same, to the great terror of His Majesty's Subjects, and manifest Breach of the Peace, His Majesty in Council is pleased to Direct and Command all Lord Lieutenants, Deputy Lieutenants, Justices of the Peace, Mayors, Constables, and all other Officers whom it may concern, to use their utmost endeavours for the preventing of such Outrages and Disorders for the future, and for the suppressing all riotous and tumultuous Meetings and Assemblies whatsoever.

*William Bridgeman.*

There having been sufficient care taken for this by the Council before, it was not consistent with his Interest thus to shew his Zeal for the Popish Party in the very first Act he did upon his return, as if he had come back only to serve them.

During the time the King stay'd at *Whitehall*, it was crowded with Irishmen, Priests, Jesuits, and Roman Catholicks, after the old wont; and it is said one of the Priests sent an imperious Message to the Earl of *Mulgrave* the Lord Chamberlain, to furnish his Lodgings with new Furniture, for



for he meant to continue in them. And the King also (as was said) discharged *Leiburn* a Popish Bishop, out of *Newgate*, on *Monday* the *Seventeenth* of *December*: So that all things were returning apparently into the old Chancel, and we were to expect nothing but what we had already seen and felt; and some that wished well to the King, said, he was cunningly invited back to *Whitehall*, with a design to ruine him the more effectually, and without any pity from his Protestant Subjects.

The Peers at *Windsor* did not think it reasonable, hearing this, that the Prince of *Orange* should accept the King's Invitation, and venture his Person in the same place: for this they had another good reason, the Duke of *Grafton* marching through the *Strand*, on the *Fourteenth* day, at the Head of a Foot Regiment of Guards, to take the Fort of *Tilbury* out of the hands of the *Irish*, by the Order of the Council, an *Irish* Trooper came riding up to him, and being beaten off by the Soldiers, drew a Pistol against him; for which he was shot dead upon the place. And it was not improbable there were more of the same temper.

Hereupon the Peers at *Windsor* resolved to send the Prince's Guards to take Possession of the Posts about *Whitehall*, to prevent all possibility of a Disturbance from Guards belonging to two several Masters; which, besides other ill Consequences, might have perhaps involved the King's own Person in the danger that might have arisen from any Dispute. These Guards got not to *London* before Ten at Night, being commanded by Count *Solmes*; and the Guards then on Duty not being willing to dislodge, it was Twelve at Night before the Lords could deliver the Paper they had brought from *Windsor*, of which they first sent this Account to Secretary *Middleton*.

My Lord,

There is a Message to be delivered to His Majesty from the Prince, which is of so great Importance, that we who are charged with it, desire we may be immediately admitted; and therefore desire to know where we



December. ' we may find your Lordship, that you may introduce, Mr  
 Lord,

Your Lordship's most Humble Servants,

Hallifax,  
 Shrewsbury,  
 Delamare.

He accordingly presently introduced them, the King being by that time in Bed. Where they made an Apology for coming at so unseasonable a time; and delivering him the Paper, the King read it, and said he would comply with it. Upon which the Lords humbly desired he would remove so early as to be at *Ham* by Noon, to prevent meeting the Prince in his way to *London*, where he was to come the same day: His Majesty readily agreed to this too, and asked whether he might not appoint what Servants should attend him; to which the Lords replied, That it was left to him to give order in that as he pleased, and so took their leave of him. When they were gone as far as the Privy-Chamber, the King sent for them again, and told them, He had forgot to acquaint them with his Resolutions before the Message came, To send my Lord *Godolphin* next Morning to the Prince, to propose his going back to *Rocheſter*, he finding by the Message Monsieur *Zuleſtein* was charged with, the Prince had no mind he should be at *London*; and therefore he now desired he might rather return to *Rocheſter*, than go to any other place. The Lords replied, That they would immediately send an Account to the Prince of what His Majesty desired, and they did not doubt of such an Answer as would be to his Satisfaction: Accordingly they sent to him, who was then at *Sion*, and before Eight next Morning there came a Letter from Monsieur *Benting*, by the Prince's Order, agreeing to the King's Proposal of going to *Rocheſter*: whereupon he went (the Guards being made ready and Boats prepared) that Night to *Graveſend*, in his own Barge, attended by the Earl of *Arran*, and some few others.



The same day, Dec. the 18th. about Three in the Afternoon, his Highness the Prince of Orange came to St. James's, attended by Monsieur Schomberg, and a great number of the Nobility and Gentry, and was entertained with a Joy and Concourse of the People which appeared free and unconstrained, and all the Bells in the City were rung, and Bon-fires in every Street.

The King continued at Rochester till the 23. of December, and then about one or two in the morning privately withdrew himself, taking only with him Mr. Ra. Sheldon and Mr. Delabady, he went towards Dover, and embarked in a Vessel laid ready for his Transportation for France. The Queen, who went hence the 10th. arrived the 11th. at Calais, and was in great pain (not knowing what had happened in England) for the King, whom she expected every tide.

The King, before he withdrew this second time, wrote and left behind him this following Letter, which was afterwards printed by his Order in London.

*His Majesty's Reasons for withdrawing Himself from Rochester; Writ with his own Hand, and ordered by him to be Published.*

THE World cannot wonder at my withdrawing myself now this second time. I might have expected somewhat better usage after what I writ to the Prince of Orange, by my Lord Feversham, and the Instructions I gave him; but instead of an Answer, such as I might have hoped for, what was I to expect after the usage I received, by the making the said Earl a Prisoner, against the Practice and Law of Nations; the sending his own Guards at Eleven at Night, to take Possession of the Posts at Whitehall, without advertising me in the least manner of it; the sending to me at One of the Clock at midnight,

P

when



December.

when I was in Bed, a kind of Order by three Lords to be gone out of my Palace before Twelve that same morning. After all this, How could I hope to be safe, so long as I was in the power of one, who had not only done this to me, and invaded my Kingdoms, without any just occasion given him for it, but that did by his first Declaration lay the greatest Asperſion on me that malice could invent, in that clause of it which concerns my Son? I appeal to all that know me, nay, even to himself, that in their Conſciences neither he nor they can believe me in the least capable of so unnatural a Villany, nor of so little common Senſe, to be imposed on in a thing of such nature as that. What had I then to expect from one, who by all Arts hath taken such pains to make me appear as Black as I am, to my own people, as well as to all the World besides? What effect that hath had at home, all Mankind hath ſeen, by so general a defection in my Army, as well as in the Nation amongst all sorts of people.

I was born free, and desire to continue so; and tho' I have ventured my Life very frankly on several occasions, for the Good and Honour of my Country; and am as free to do it again (and which I hope I shall yet do, as old as I am, to Redeem it from the Slavery it is like to fall under;) yet I think it not convenient to expose myself to be ſecured, as not to be at Liberty to effect it; and for that Reason to withdraw, but so as to be within Call whensoever the Nation's Eyes shall be opened, so as to ſee how they have been imposed upon by the Specious Pretences of Religion and Property. I hope it will please GOD to touch their Hearts, out of His infinite Mercy, and to make them ſensible of the ill condition they are in, and bring them to such a Temper that a Legal Parliament may be call'd; and that amongst other things which may be necessary to be done, they will agree to Liberty of Conſcience, for all Protestant Dissenters, and that those of my own Perſwaſion may be so far conſidered, and have such a ſhare of it, as they may live peaceably and quietly, as English men and Christians ought to do, and not to be obliged to Transplant themselves, which would be



be very grievous, especially to such as love their Coun-  
try: And I appeal to all men, who are considering men,  
and have had experience, whether any thing can make  
this Nation so great and flourishing, as Liberty of Con-  
science. Some of our Neighbours dread it.  
I could add much more to confirm what I have said,  
but now is not the proper time.

Rochester, Decemb.  
the 22, 1688.

Having now attained that period of time I designed,  
what followed being the Methods of Redressing the Dis-  
orders we fell into by the Desertion, and the re-settling  
the Government again, I must desire my Reader to make  
a Stand with me, and to consider what it was could pos-  
sibly work upon the Apprehensions of this Prince, to per-  
swade him at first to entertain the Thoughts of leaving  
his People, and withdrawing into a Foreign Country;

When the Prince's Expedition was first certainly made  
known to him, he was resolved to have had a Parliament,  
upon a Belief, that he should have been intirely Master of  
the Lower House, by reason of the Regulations, and other  
means then lately used; but yet it is probable he would  
have examined them man by man, before they should have  
met.

But when all this was out of doors, and the Charters  
restored, he dreaded nothing more than a Parliament, and  
the rather, because the Prince had in his Declaration in-  
sisted, That all the Violences and Disorders which have over-  
turned the whole constitution of the English Government, may be  
fully redressed in a Free and Legal Parliament: This con-  
tained under it these things, which he would certainly  
have perished, rather than to have submitted to them, by  
concurring with a Parliament.

I. The first thing is, The Examination of the Birth  
of the Prince of Wales, (as he is call'd) the but Que-



December. tioning of which, was a Stab at the Heart of this Prince, as appears by his last Letter. And the Reflections on the Bishop's Petition mention that as a thing not fit to be referr'd then to a Parliament. I will not blame them for this, considering the proof they were able to make of it.

II. The next thing was, that Justice would certainly have been demanded against all the Instruments of our former Calamities, whom he had pardoned; and was in Honour bound to protect, at least, not to punish those whom he had hired or perswaded, or perhaps forced almost to become Criminals.

III. The third was, the consenting to the intire Ruine of the Means or Hopes of ever settling Popery in England, and to the hanging some, and attainting others of the Priests and Jesuits, for doing their kind, and what their Rules, Oaths, and Vows oblige them to.

IV. He foresaw such a Parliament would not only for ever damn the Ecclesiastical Court, and Dispensing Power, but would in all probability retrench much of his Revenue, and more of his Legal and Ancient Prerogatives, especially after the Prince had got all the Forts into his Hands, and reduced the English Army to nothing. And this alone was a thing he would hardly have consented to, though nothing else had been asked.

V. The Prince, he foresaw, would have insisted on the having some Forts in his hands, and the Parliament for their own security, and for the fixing a Faith which had not been over nice, would have joined with him: So, said he, if I stay, I shall be a Nominal, rather than a real King of England, and only serve as an Instrument to ruine my Religion, my Friends, the Monarchy, and the Child, and after all, do and hear what is worse (to me) than a Thousand Deaths.



At first he alledged, That the Disorders the Preparations *December.* to repel the Invasion caused, would not suffer a Parliament to meet. Secondly, After the Prince was landed, that all the Countries he had under him would not be free. Thirdly, That all that had joyned with him, ought not to sit, but when he saw the whole Army and Nation (the *Roman Catholics* excepted) of the same mind, mere force drove him to consent to Call a *Parliament*; and when he had again considered the Consequences of it, he at last resolved to throw up the Crown all at once, rather than to submit to all these Hardships.

He seems to have had at the same time a fluttering hope, that (1.) We would never be able long to agree, after he had made it impossible for us to have a Legal Parliament, by burning the Writs. (2.) That the *Church of England* Principles would, when the fear and disorder was over, form for him a potent Army in the Nation. And (3.) That the *French* King would lend him potent Forces, and good store of Money; and if he recovered the Throne by force, he should be freed of all these Miseries, and have what he only wanted before, a Popish Army, to insure the Slavery of *England* for ever.

Now I would desire those *Protestants*, who pretend, now too late, to be so zealous for him, to consider, whether what I have said would not have been expected from him by them, for their Security; and what they would have done, had he called a Parliament, and refused them all these things, and have insisted, That they should have taken his Word as to the Birth of the Prince of *Wales*, have suffered him to have been educated in *France*, and have suffered the Army, the Prerogative, the Ministers, and the Revenues to have continued entirely as they were, upon a Promise, He would have used them better for the future?

If they say No; They would have had the best Security that Law or Reason could have required: Then all the hard things I have mentioned must have been granted them, and I much question, whether he would now return to the Throne on those terms.



December,

If they say, we ought however to have treated with him, have offered him terms; I say, it would have come to a separate Treaty; and the Church, the Liberties of the Nation, and the Government, would have been ruined that way; and when all had been done, no Bond (that he could have broken) would have held him longer than the Necessity had continued.

The only Advantage we could pretend to have by the coming over of the Prince of Orange with an Army, was to force the King to what he would never have yielded without that Force. Now when he had accordingly passed his Word to the Nation, in the Proclamation of the Thirtieth of November, That there should be a Free Parliament; and to the Prince of Orange, in his Message by the three Lords, That he would consent to every thing that could reasonably be required for the Security of those that come to it; and yet without any Provocation would burn the Writs, and resolve to withdraw his Person before these Lords could possibly return him any Answer (for he promised the Queen to follow her, who went away the day before him,) I say, this breach of his Word so solemnly made and given both to the Nation and the Prince, shew that he was not Master of himself, but turned about by others whither they pleased.

Now suppose the Prince had suffered him to continue at Whitehall, and to call a Third Parliament, what assurance could he have given, that in the end of another forty days we should not have the same trick play'd us, and then in March or April have been left in the same state of Confusion we were in in December, to the certain ruine of these three Kingdoms, and Holland into the bargain. And when all had been done, the Scruples would have been the same they are now, the Obligations of the Oath of Allegiance the same, and the sin of Deposing a Lawful Prince, who resolved to do the Nation no Right, would have been much greater and more scandalous, than barely to take him at his Word; and since he had left the Throne empty, when he needed not, to resolve he should ascend it no more.

Lastly,



Lastly, Suppose the Prince had been Expelled by the King, Would the King have then granted us what he would not grant us now? Would he not have Disbanded his Protestant Army, and have kept the Irish Forces in Pay, and have every day encreased them? What Respect would he ever after this have shewn to the English Laws, Religion or Liberties, when he had had no longer any thing to fear? The memory of what happened after the Monmouth defeat, (though effected only by Church of England Men) will certainly never be forgotten by others, whatever these Bigots of Loyalty may pretend or say.


December.

That Expression of the Lord Churchill's, in his Letter, [That he could no longer joyn with Self-interested Men, who had framed Designs against His Majesty's true Interest, and the Protestant Religion, to give a pretence by Conquest to bring them to effect] ought to be seriously considered by all the Protestants of the Nation: This one Argument prevailed upon him, when he ran the hazard of his Life, Reputation and Fortunes; and now they are all on the other side, I should consider very seriously, if I were one of them, what Answer I could make to this turned into a Question in the Day of Death and Judgment, before ever I should act the direct contrary to what he has done.

For my part I am amazed to see Men scruple the submitting to the present King; for if ever Man had a just cause of War, he had; and that creates a Right to the thing gained by it: the King by withdrawing and disbanding his Army, yielded him the Throne; and if he had, without any more Ceremony, ascended it, he had done no more than all other Princes do on the like occasions; and when the King after this was taken and brought back by force, he was no longer then bound to consider him, as one that *was*, but as one that *had been* King of England; and in that capacity he treated him with great Respect and Civility, how much soever the King complained of it, who did not enough consider what he had done to draw upon himself that usage.

But when all is said that can be said, there may possibly be some Men to whom may be applied the Saying of Job, *Thou lovest thine enemies, and hatest thy friends; for thou hast declared*



*December.*  clared this day, that thou regardest neither princes, nor servants; for this day I perceive, that if *Absolom* had lived, and all we had died this day, then it had pleased thee well. Had the Protestant Religion, the *English* Liberties, the Nobility and Gentry of this Nation, been all made an *Holocaust* to their Reputations and Humours, their Scruples and School-niceties, and the Prince of *Orange* perished, or returned Ruin'd or Inglorious into *Holland*; we should then have had the Honour of cutting up our Religion, our Laws, and our Civil Rights, with our own Swords; and we should have been the only Church under Heaven that had refused a Deliverance, and Religiously and Loyally had Destroyed it self. In truth, the Men that would have purchased *Popery* and *Slavery* so dear, ought to have enjoyed both to the End of the World.

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## PART



PART the SECOND.

A SHORT ACCOUNT

OF THE

METHODS

Used for the

RE-ESTABLISHMENT

OF OUR

GOVERNMENT.

WITH

REFLECTIONS

ON A

Pamphlet, stiled, *The Dissertion Discussed*. In  
a Letter to a Country Gentleman.

THE Prince of Orange being thus received in London, the 18th. of December. The Common Council of that City the same day assembled and passed an Order that all the Aldermen and their several Deputies, and two Common Council men for each Ward should wait upon and congratulate his Highness the Prince of Orange upon his Happy Arrival to the City at such time, and place as His Highness should appoint, and that the two Sheriffs, and Mr. Common Serjeant should wait upon the Prince to know his Pleasure when



*December.* when they should attend him, which was done the day after his Entry at *St. James's*, who appointed them the next day.

The Committee of the Common Council came accordingly the 20th. of *December*, and Sir *George Treby* their Recorder made him this Speech in their Names.

*May it please your Highness,*

**T**HE Lord Mayor being disabled by Sicknes, your Highness is attended by the Aldermen and Commons of the Capital City of this Kingdom, Deputed to Congratulate Your Highness upon this Great and Glorious Occasion.

In which Labouring for Words we cannot but come short in Expression. Reviewing our late Danger, we remember our Church and State, overrun by Popery and Arbitrary Power, and brought to the point of Destruction, by the Conduct of Men (that were our true Invaders) that brake the Sacred Fences of our Laws, and (which was worst) the very Constitution of our *Legislature*.

So that there was no Remedy left but the Last.

The only Person under Heaven that could apply this Remedy was Your Highness.

You are of a Nation whose Alliance, in all times, has been agreeable and prosperous to us. You are of a Family most Illustrious, Benefactors to Mankind, to have the Title of a *Sovereign Prince, Stadt-holder*, and to have worn the *Imperial Crown*, are amongst their lesser Dignities. They have long enjoyed a Dignity singular and transcendent, *viz.* To be the Champions of Almighty God, sent forth in several Ages to vindicate his Cause against the greatest Oppressions. To this *Divine Commission*, our Nobles, our Gentry, and among them our brave *English Soldiers*, rendred themselves and their Arms upon Your Appearing.

GREAT SIR,



December.

GREAT SIR,

**W**hen we look back to the last Month, and contemplate the *Swiftness* and *Fulness* of Our Present Deliverance, astonished, we think it Miraculous; Your Highness led by the Hand of Heaven, and call'd by the *Voice* of the People, has preserved our dearest Interests.

The Protestant Religion, which is Primitive Christianity Restored. Our Laws, which are our Ancient Title to our Lives, Liberties and Estates; and without which this World were a Wilderness.

But what Retribution can we make to Your Highness? Our Thoughts are full charged with Gratitude. Your Highness has a lasting Monument in the *Hearts*, in the *Prayers*, in the *Praises* of all good men amongst us. And Late Posterity will Celebrate Your ever Glorious Name, till time shall be no more.

The first care of his Highness was the *English* Army for which he made this Order,

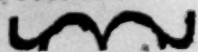
*Whereas*, upon the late Irregular Disbanding of the Forces, divers Souldiers carried away the Arms belonging to their respective Regiments, and have since lost or imbezilled the same; We do hereby direct and require all Persons to whose hands the said Arms, or any of them are come, or with whom they now remain, forthwith to deliver them to the said Souldiers, or their Officers upon Demand; and in default thereof, forthwith to bring them to the Officers of the Ordnance now attending at *Uxbridge*, *Hounslow*, or the Tower of *London*, in order to the returning the said Arms into the Stores of the Ordnance. Given at *St. James's* the 21 of *December*, 1688.

His next care was the appointing Quarters for the *Several English, Scots, and Irish* Regiments, and the ordering them accordingly to repair to the places therein named.

The same Day was also a great Council of the Nobility, about Sixty of the Peers then Meeting at *St. James's*, who all (except two) Subscribed a Paper in the nature of an Association: After which His Highness thus expressed himself,



December.



My Lords,

I Have desired you to meet here to advise the best manner how to pursue the Ends of My *Declaration* in Calling a Free Parliament, for the Preservation of the Protestant Religion, and restoring the Rights and Liberties of the Kingdom, and settling the same that they may not be in danger of being again Subverted.

Upon which it was resolved, That the said Proposals should be further Debated the next Day in the House of Peers at *Westminster*. And Sir *John Maynard*, Mr. *Holt*, Mr. *Polexfen*, Mr. *Bradford* and Mr. *Atkinson*, five Counsellors at Law, were odered to attend them for their Advice.

The 22. the Lords Spiritual and Temporal Assembled at *Westminster* in the House of Lords, and appointed *Francis Gwin Esq*; to Sign such Orders as should be from time to time by them made ; which was thus signed by

*Tho. Ebor. Northfolk. Somerset. Grafton. Ormond. Beauford. Northumberland. Hallifax. Oxford. Kent. Bedford. Pembroke. Dorset. Devonshire. Bullingbrook. Manchester. Rivers. Stamford. Thanet. Scarsdale. Clarendon. Burlington. Sussex. Maclesfield. Radnor. Berkeley. Nottingham. Rochester. Fauconberg. Mordant. Newport. Weymouth. Hatton. W. Asaph. F. Ely. La Ware. R. Eure. P. Wharton. Paget. North and Grey. Chandos. Montague. Grey. Maynard. T. Fermyn. Vaughan. Carbery. T. Culpeper. Lucas. Delamer. Crew. Lumley. Carteret. Oulston.*

These Peers thus Assembled the 25th. day of *December*, Signed and Presented to His Highness this Address.

WE the Lords Spiritual and Temporal Assembled in this Conjunction, do desire Your Highness to take upon You the Administration of Publick Affairs both Civil and Military, and the Disposal of the Publick Revenue, for the Preservation of our Religion, Rights, Laws, Liberties and Properties, and of the Peace of the Nation ; And that Your Highness will take into Your particular Care, the present Condition of *Ireland*, and endeavour by the most speedy and effectual



fectual means to prevent the Dangers Threatning that King-*December.*  
dom: All which we make our Requests to Your Highness to undertake, and exercise, till the meeting of the intended Convention the 22<sup>d</sup>. Day of *January* next, in which we doubt not such proper Methods will be taken as will conduce to the Establishment of these things upon such sure and legal Foundations, that they may not be in Danger of being again Subverted. Dated at the House of Lords *Westminster*, the 25<sup>th</sup>. of *December*, 1688.

**W**E the Lords Spiritual and Temporal Assembled at *Westminster* in this Extraordinary Conjunction, do Humbly desire Your Highness, to Cause Letters to be Written, Subscribed by Your Self, to the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, being Protestants, and to the several Counties, Universities, Cities, and Burroughs, Cinque Ports of *England, Wales*, and Town of *Berwick upon Tweed*; The Letters for the Counties to be directed to the Coroners of the Respective Counties, or any one of them; and in default of the Coroners to the Clerk of the Peace of the Respective Counties; And the Letters for the Universities to be directed to the respective Vice Chancellors, and the Letters to the several Cities, Burroughs and Cinque Ports to be directed to the Chief Magistrates of each Respective City, Burrough, and Cinque Port, containing Directions for the choosing in all such Counties, Cities, Burroughs and Cinque Ports, within ten days after the receipt of the said Respective Letters, such a Number of Persons to represent them as are of Right to be sent to Parliament; of which Elections, and the times, and places thereof the Respective Officers shall give notice within the space of five days at the least.

Notice of the intended Elections for the Counties to be Published in the Churches immediately after the time of Divine Service, and in all Market Towns within the Respective Counties, and Notice of the intended Elections for the Cities, Universities, Burroughs and Cinque Ports, to be Published within the Respective Places. The said Letters and the Execution hereof, to be returned by such Officer or Officers, who shall Execute the same to the Clerk of the Crown in the Court of *Chancery*, so as the Persons so to be chosen may meet



December. meet and sit at *Westminster*, on the 22<sup>d</sup>. day of *January* next. Dated at the House of Lords, *Westminster*, December the 25<sup>th</sup>. 1688.

Both which were Signed by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal then Assembled, and presented to His Highness the Prince of *Orange* the same day at *St. James's*.

The 28<sup>th</sup>. of *December*, the Prince of *Orange* returned this Answer to the Peers then Assembled at *St. James's*.

*My Lords,*

I Have considered of your Advice, and, as far as I am able, I will endeavour to Secure the Peace of the Nation, until the Meeting of the Convention in *January* next, for the Election whereof, I will forthwith Issue out Letters according to your desire; I will also take care to apply the Publick Revenue to the most proper uses, that the present Affairs require; and likewise endeavour to put *Ireland* into such a condition, as that the Protestant Religion, may be maintained in that Kingdom: And I assure you, that as I came hither for the Preservation of the Protestant Religion, and the Laws and Liberties of these Kingdoms, so I shall always be ready to expose my self to any Hazard for the Defence of the same.

The 26<sup>th</sup>. The Knights, Citizens, and Burgeses, who had served in any of the Parliaments in the time of His late Majesty *Charles II*. As also the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Fifty of the Common Council of the City of *London*, being desired by His Highness to attend Him this day. One hundred and Sixty Members, and the rest came call (but the Mayor who was sick) to *St. James's*, and were by Him acquainted with the State of things, and desired to repair to the Commons House at *Westminster*, where they chose *Mr. Powle* for their Speaker, then sending to know what the Peers had done, the Addresses, as above recited, were delivered to them, with which they concurred; And the 27<sup>th</sup>. they also presented them to the Prince, to whom He gave the same Answer he had given to the Lords; the 28<sup>th</sup>. in the Afternoon.



The 30th. His Highness put out the usual Proclamation for *December.* the continuance of the Sheriffs, Justices of the Peace, and other Officers and Ministers (not being Papists) to act in their Respective places till the Meeting of the Convention, or other Order to the contrary, Excepting also all such Offices or Places, where since His Arrival in this Kingdom he had already, or should hereafter otherwise provide.

The 2d. of *January* He put out a Declaration for the better Collecting the Publick Revenue, which I need not transcribe.

The 5th. of *January*, His Highness put out this following Order.


**F**OR the better Preventing Disorders that may happen in any Burrough, Corporation, or other place of Election of Members for the intended *Convention*, by any Souldiers Quartered in those places; And that such Elections may be carried on with the greater Freedom, and without any colour of Force or Restraint; We do hereby strictly charge and require all Collonels and Officers in chief with any Regiment, Troop or Company, to cause such Reigments, Troops, or Companies, to march out of the Quarters where such Election shall be made (the several Garrisons only Excepted) the day before the same be made, to the next Adjoyning Town or Towns, being not appointed for any Election, and not to return to their first Quarters until the said Respective Elections be made and fully compleated; wherein they are not to fail as they will answer the contrary at their peril.

The *Scotch* Nobility and Gentry in or about *London*, were also by His Highness's Order Summoned to *St. James's*; where they met the 7th. of *January*, at Three in the Afternoon; to whom the Prince made this Speech.

*My Lords and Gentlemen,*

**T**HE only reason that induced me to undergo so great an Undertaking, was, That I saw the Laws and Liberties of these Kingdoms overturned, and the Protestant Religion in eminent Danger; And seeing you are here so many *Noblemen* and *Gentlemen*, I have called you together, that I may have



January.  have your Advice, what is to be done for the securing the Protestant Religion, and Restoring Your Laws and Liberties according to my Declaration.

Then they withdrew to the Council Chamber at *Whitehall*, and chose the Duke of *Hamilton* their *President*; And after some Debates Agreed the heads of a Paper, which they ordered to be drawn. The 8<sup>th</sup>. they met again, and the Paper was Read and Approved, and ordered to be Ingrossed. The Earl of *Arran* proposed in this second Meeting, That it was his Advice, that the Prince of Orange should be moved to desire the King to return, and call a Free Parliament, for the securing our Religion and Property according to the known Laws of the Kingdom, which (said he) in my humble opinion is the best way to heal all our Breaches, which was Disgusted by all and seconded by none of them.

The 9<sup>th</sup>. They met again, and Signed the Paper which was in these Words.

**W**E the Lords and Gentlemen of the Kingdom of *Scotland* Assembled at Your Highness's desire in this Extraordinary Conjunction, do give Your Highness our humble and hearty thanks, for Your Pious and Generous *Undertaking*, for preserving of the Protestant Religion, and Restoring the Laws and Liberties of this Kingdom.

In Order to the attaining of these Ends, Our humble Advice and Desire is, That Your Highness take upon You the Administration of All Affairs both Civil and Military; The disposal of the Publick Revenues and Fortresses of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, and the doing of every thing that is necessary for the preservation of the Peace of the Kingdom, until a General Meeting of the States of the Nation, which we humbly desire Your Highness to call, to be holden at *Edinburgh* the 14<sup>th</sup>. day of *March* next, by Your Letter or Proclamation, to be Published at the Market Crosses of *Edinburgh*, and other Head Burroughs of the several Shires and Stewartries, as sufficient intimation to all concerned, according to the Custom of the Kingdom: And that the Publication of these Your Letters or Proclamation, be by the Sheriff or Stewart-Clerks, for the Free-Holders; who have the



the value of Lands, holden according to Law, for making *January.*  
Elections; and by the Town Clerks of the several Burroughs, for the Meeting of the whole Burgeses of the Respective Royal Burroughs, to make their Elections, at least Fifteen days before the Meeting of the Estates at *Edinburgh*; and the Respective Clerks to make intimation thereof at the least ten days before the Meetings for Election: And that the whole Electors and Members of the said Meeting at *Edinburgh*, qualified as above expressed, be *Protestants*, without any other Exception, or Limitation whatsoever; To deliberate and resolve what is to be done for securing the Protestant Religion, and restoring the Laws and Liberties of the Kingdom, according to Your Highness's Declaration. Dated the 10th. day of *January*, 1689. at the Council Chamber at *White-Hall*.

It was Signed by about *Thirty* Lords, and *Eighty* Gentlemen, and was presented in their presence at *St. James's* by the Duke of *Hamilton* their President. The 14th. His Highness met the *Scotch* Lords and Gentlemen in the same place again, and spake to them as followeth,

*My Lords and Gentlemen,*

**I**N pursuance of Your Advice, I will until the Meeting of the Estates in *March* next, give such Orders concerning the Affairs of *Scotland*, as are necessary for the calling of the said Meeting, for the preservation of the Peace; the applying of the Publick Revenue to the most pressing uses, and putting the Fortresses in the hands of Persons in whom the Nation can have a just confidence; And I do further assure you, that you will always find me ready to concur with you in every thing that may be found necessary for securing the Protestant Religion, and restoring the Laws and Liberties of the Nation.

The Earls of *Crawford* and *Louthain* being present in this last Meeting, but coming up to *London* after the former, desired they might Sign the said Address, and they accordingly did so.

The 8th. day *January*, His Highness put out a Declaration  
R against



*January.* against quartering Soldiers on private Houses. *And that all Houses should be deemed Private Houses, except Victualling Houses, and Houses of Publick Entertainment, or such as sell Wine or any other Liquor by Retail. In all which Houses We do think fit, That all Officers and Souldiers be Lodged by the Direction and Appointment of the Magistrates, Justices of the Peace, or Constables of the place where such Forces shall come, and not otherwise. And we do hereby strictly forbid all Officers and Souldiers upon any pretence whatsoever, to take up any Quarters for themselves or others, without such Direction or Appointment, upon pain of being Casheired, or suffering such other punishment as the offence shall deserve.*

The Prince found the Treasury very empty of Money, the Cash in it being said to be but 40000 *l.* Whereupon he desired the City of *London*. to advance a Sum for His present Occasions, and the 10th. of *January* they agreed to lend 100000 *l.* but it being raised by Subscriptions it amounted to above 150000 *l.*

The 16th. of *January*, the Prince put out a Declaration to assure the Mariners and Seamen of their Pay, and suppress the false reports had been spread to the contrary by the Discontented Party.

The Elections of the Members for the *Convention* in the mean time went on with the greatest Liberty that could possibly be conceived; every man giving his Vote for whom he pleased, without the least Solicitation from the Prince or any of his, there had been Writs before this twice for a Parliament in a few Months, and almost every place had before this fixed their Members, so that the difference was not great between the Men that were, and those that would have been chosen, if the King had suffered the first or second Parliament he called, to have met, and this gives the truest Idea that can be desired of the temper of the Nation, and what would have been the event if either of those Parliaments had sate.

The two Houses met the 22d. of *January*, and the Upper House (there being no Lord Chancellor) chose the Marquess of *Hallifax* for their Speaker, and the Commons chose *Henry Powle Esq*; after which a Letter was read in both Houses from His Highness the Prince of *Orange* on the Occasion of their Meeting; which was as followeth.

*My*



January.

My Lords,

I Have endeavoured to the utmost of my power, to perform what was desired from me in order to the publick peace and safety ; and I do not know that any thing hath been omitted which might tend to the preservation of them, since the Administration of Affairs was put into my hands. It now lieth upon you to lay the foundations of a firm security for your Religion, your Laws, and your Liberties.

I do not doubt, but that by such a full and free Representative of the Nation, as is now met, the Ends of my *Declaration* will be attained: And since it hath pleased God hitherto to bless my good intentions with so great success, I trust in him, that he will compleat his own work, by sending a spirit of Peace and Union to influence your Counsels, that no interruption may be given to an happy and lasting Settlement.

The dangerous condition of the Protestants in *Ireland*, requiring a large and speedy succour, and the present state of things abroad, oblige me to tell you, that next to the danger of *Unseasonable Divisions* amongst our selves, nothing can be so fatal as too great delay in your Consultations: The *States* by whom I have been enabled to rescue this Nation, may suddenly feel the ill effects of it, both by being too long deprived of the service of their Troops which are now here, and of your early assistance against a powerful enemy, who hath declared a War against them: And as *England* is by Treaty already engaged to help them upon such Exigencies, so I am confident that their chearful concurrence to preserve this Kingdom with so much hazard to themselves, will meet with all the Returns of Friendship and assistance, which may be expected from you as *Protestants* and *Englishmen*, whenever their condition shall require it.

Given at St. James's the 22d day of January, 1688.

To the Lords Spiritual  
and Temporal Assembled at Westminster.

Will H. P. d'Orange.

The first thing the Houses took care of was by mutual consent to draw up and present the following Address.



January.



The Address of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons Assembled at *Westminster* in this present Convention to his Highness the Prince of Orange.

*Die Martis 22<sup>o</sup> Januarii, 1688.*

**W**E the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, assembled at *Westminster* being highly sensible of the Great Deliverance of this Kingdom from *Popery* and *Arbitrary Power*; and that our Preservation is (next under God) owing to your Highness, do return our most humble thanks and acknowledgments to your Highness, as the Glorious Instrument of so great a Blessing.

We do further acknowledg the great care your Highness has been pleased to take in the Administration of the Publick Affairs of the Kingdom to this time; and we do most humbly desire your Highness, that you will take upon you the Administration of Publick Affairs both Civil and Military, and the Disposal of the Publick Revenue, for the Preservation of our Religion, Rights, Laws, Liberties and Properties, and of the Peace of the Nation: And that your Highness will take into your particular care the present state of *Ireland*, and endeavour by the most speedy and effectual means to prevent the Dangers threatening that Kingdom. All which we make our Request to your Highness to undertake and exercise, till further Application shall be made by us, which shall be expedited with all convenient speed; and we shall also use our utmost endeavours to give dispatch to the matters recommended to us by your Highness's Letter.


To this Address thus presented by both Houses at *St. James's* the Prince of Orange made this Reply the same day.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

**I** Am glad that what I have done hath pleased you: And since you desire me to continue the Administration of Affairs, I am willing to accept it. I must recommend to you the consideration of Affairs abroad, which maketh it fit for you to expedite your business; not only for making a Settlement at home upon a good foundation, but for the safety of all Europe.

The



The Houses also ordered that Thursday the 31<sup>th</sup> of *January* *January.*  be appointed for a day of Publick Thanksgiving to Almighty God in the Cities of *London* and *Westminster*, and ten miles distance, for having made his Highness the Prince of *Orange* the Glorious Instrument of the Great Deliverance of this Kingdom from Popery and Arbitrary Power, and that Thursday the 14<sup>th</sup> of *February* next be appointed for a Publick Thanksgiving throughout the whole Kingdom for the same.

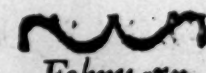
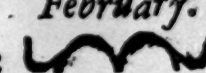
The 23<sup>d</sup> of *January* the Lords passed this Order,  
Ordered by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal Assembled at *Westminster*, That no Papist, or Reputed Papist, do presume to come into the Lobby, Painted Chamber, Court of Requests, or *Westminster-Hall*, during the sitting of this Convention. And it is further Ordered, That this Order be Printed and Published, and set upon the Doors of the said Rooms.

The 28<sup>th</sup> of *January* the Commons passed this Vote :  
Resolved, *That King James the II. having endeavoured to subvert the Constitution of this Kingdom, by breaking the Original Contract between King and People; and by the Advice of Jesuits and other wicked persons, having violated the Fundamental Laws, and having withdrawn himself out of this Kingdom, have abdicated the Government, and that the Throne is thereby vacant.*

Resolved, That this Vote be sent up to the Lords-House to-morrow morning for their Concurrence.

This Vote occasioned the Letter I am to Examine.

Hereupon followed several Conferences between the Lords and the Commons, none of which being Printed, and the Written Copies dispersed about the Town being of no good Authority, I must leave them unrelated.

The 6<sup>th</sup> of *February* the Lords at last assented to the Vote *above.*  *February.* 

The 29<sup>th</sup> of *January* this Question was proposed in the Lords-House, "Whether a Regency with the Administration of Regal power under the name and stile of King *James* the Second, during the Life of the said King *James* be the best and safest way to preserve the Protestant Religion, and the Laws of the Kingdom?"

Upon



February.

Upon which the House divided.

§ Contents 48.

C Non-contents 51.

This very much facilitated the Concurrence of the two Houses in the other Vote.

The Throne being thus declared vacant, some were for the Prince of *Orange* to be Elected King alone, others for the Princess to be forthwith proclaimed and acknowledged as next Immediate Heir of the Crown of *England*, and others were for a *Commonwealth*. But the two strongest parties were those who were for the Prince, and those that were for the Princess, so that at last there was a way found to twist these two into one by giving the Title indifferently to both, and the Administration solely to the Prince, to avoid the inconvenience of two co-ordinate Sovereigns.

Whilest these things were warmly debated in the Convention and the Town, and all men were yet in suspense which way they would be determin'd some that were over zealous set a foot the following Petition the first of *February*, and endeavoured to have it subscribed by the Multitude indifferently, going up and down to publick places to sollicit Subscriptions.

*To the Lords Spiritual and Temporal Assembled in the Grand Convention, the Humble Petition of Great Numbers of Citizens, and other Inhabitants of the Cities of London and Westminster.*

**W**Hereas we are in a deep sense of the danger of *Delays*, and perplext Debates about settling the Government, at this time *Vacant*, by reason whereof the necessary ends of Government cannot be duly administred.

We humbly desire that his most Illustrious Highness the Prince of *Orange*, and his Royal Consort the *Princess*, may be speedily settled in the *Throne*, by whose Courage, Conduct and Reputation, this Nation and the Protestant Religion may be defended from our Enemies at Home and abroad; And that *Ireland* now in a bleeding and deplorable condition, may be rescued from its miseries, and these Kingdoms settled on a lasting foundation in Peace and Liberty.

Whereupon his Highness being informed of the ill consequences and scandal of this way of proceeding caused this Order to be made and published to suppress it.

By



By the Mayor,

February.

**W**Hereas his Highness the Prince of Orange, hath been pleased to signifie to me this day, That divers persons (pretending themselves to be Citizens of London) in a tumultuous and a disorderly manner have lately disturbed the present Convention of the Lords and Commons at Westminster, upon pretence of Petitioning. It being regular and usual for the Citizens of this City that are under the apprehension of any Grievance, to make their application to my self and the Court of Aldermen: Therefore with the Advice of my Brethren, the Aldermen of this City, these are to require you, That you command within your Ward, that they forbear any such tumultuous Disturbance, or Assembly; as they will answer the contrary at their utmost peril. Dated the third day of February 1688.

The twelfth of February the two Houses at last fully agreed all things in dispute between them in this manner.

*The Declaration of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons Assembled at Westminster.*

**W**Hereas the late King James the Second by the Assistance of divers evil Counsellors, Judges and Ministers employ'd by him, did endeavour to subject and extirpate the Protestant Religion, and the Laws and Liberties of this Kingdom.

By assuming and exercising a power of Dispensing with, and suspending of Laws, and the Execution of Laws, without consent of Parliament.

By committing and prosecuting divers worthy Prelates, for humbly Petitioning to be excused from concurring to the said Assumed Power.

By issuing and causing to be Executed a Commission under the Great Seal, for erecting a Court call'd, *The Court of Commission for Ecclesiastical Affairs.*

By Levying Money for and to the use of the Crown, by pretence of Prerogative, for other time and in other manner, than the same was Granted by Parliament.

By raising and keeping a standing Army within the Kingdom in time of Peace, without consent of Parliament; and Quartering Soldiers contrary to Law.

By



February.

By causing several good Subjects being Protestants, to be disarmed, at the same time when Papists were both Armed and imployed contrary to Law.

By violating the Freedom of Elections of Members to serve in Parliament.

By Prosecutions in the Court of *Kings-Bench*, for matters and causes cognizable only in Parliament, and by divers other Arbitrary and Illegal courses.

And whereas of late years, partial, corrupt, and unqualified persons have been returned and served on Juries in Trials, and particularly divers Jurors in Trials for High Treason, which were not Freeholders.

And Excessive Bail hath been required of persons committed in Criminal cases, to elude the Benefit of the Laws made for the Liberty of the Subject.

And Excessive Fines have been imposed.

And Illegal and cruel punishments inflicted.

And several Grants and Promises made of Fines and Forfeitures before any Conviction or Judgment against the persons upon whom the same were to be levied.

All which are utterly and directly contrary to the known Laws and Statutes, and freedom of this Realm.

And whereas the late King *James the Second*, having abdicated the Government, and the Throne being thereby vacant.

His Highness the Prince of *Orange* (whom it hath pleased Almighty God to make the Glorious Instrument of Delivering this Kingdom from *Popery* and *Arbitrary Power*) did (by the Advice of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and divers principal persons of the Commons) cause Letters to be written to the Lords Spiritual and Temporal being Protestants, and other Letters to the several Counties, Cities, Universities, Burroughs and Cinque-Ports for the chusing of such persons to represent them, as were of right to be sent to Parliament, to meet and sit at *Westminster* upon the 22<sup>d</sup> day of *January* 1688, in order to such an Establishment, as that their Religion, Laws, and Liberties, might not again be in danger of being subverted, upon which Letters Elections have been accordingly made.

And thereupon the said Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, pursuant to their Respective Letters and Elections, being



being now Assembled in a full and Free *Representative* of this Nation, taking into their most serious consideration the best means for attaining the Ends aforesaid, do in the first place (as their Ancestors in like case have usually done) for the vindicating and asserting their Ancient Rights and Liberties declare,

February.

That the pretended power of suspending of Laws, or the Execution of Laws, by Regal Authority, without consent of Parliament, is illegal.

That the pretended power of Dispensing with Laws, or the Execution of Laws, by Regal Authority, as it hath been assumed and exercised of late, is illegal.

That the Commission for erecting the late *Court of Commissioners for Ecclesiastical Causes*, and all other Commissions and Courts of the like nature, are illegal and pernicious.

That Levying of Money to or for the use of the Crown, by pretence of Prerogative, without Grant of Parliament, for longer time, or in other manner, than the same is or shall be Granted, is illegal.

That it is the Right of the Subjects to Petition the King, and all Commitments and Prosecutions for such Petitioning are illegal.

That the raising or keeping a standing Army within the Kingdom in time of Peace, unless it be by consent of Parliament is against Law.

That the Subjects being Protestants may have Arms for their Defence suitable to their condition, and as allowed by Law.

That the Election of Members of Parliament ought to be Free.

That the freedom of Speech, and Debates, or Proceedings in Parliament, ought not to be impeached or questioned in any Court or Place out of Parliament.

That Excessive Bail ought not to be required, nor Excessive Fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

That Jurors ought to be duly Impannel'd and return'd, and Jurors which pass upon men in Trials for High Treason ought to be Freeholders.

That all Grants and Promises of Fines and Forfeitures of particular persons before Conviction, are illegal and void.

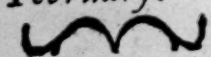
And that for Redress of all Grievances, and for the amending, strengthening, and preserving of the Laws, Parliaments, ought to be held frequently.

S

And



February.



And they do claim, demand, and insist upon all and singular the Premises, as their undoubted Rights and Liberties; and that no Declarations, Judgments, Doings, or Proceedings, to the prejudice of the people in any of the said Premises, ought in any wise to be drawn hereafter into consequence or example.

To which demand of their Rights they are particularly encouraged by the Declaration of his Highness the Prince of Orange, as being the only means for obtaining a full redress and remedy therein.

Having therefore an intire confidence, that his said Highness the Prince of Orange will perfect the Deliverance so far advanced by him, and will still preserve them from the violation of their Rights, which they have here asserted, and from all other attempts upon their Religion, Rights and Liberties.

The said Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons assembled at *Westminster* do resolve,

That **William** and **Mary** Prince and Princess of Orange be, and be declared King and Queen of *England, France, and Ireland*, and the Dominions thereunto belonging, to hold the Crown and Royal Dignity of the said Kingdoms and Dominions, to them the said Prince and Princess during their Lives, and the Life of the Survivor of them; and that the sole and full exercise of the Regal power be only in, and executed by the said Prince of Orange, in the Names of the said Prince and Princess during their joynt Lives; and after their Deceases, the said Crown and Royal Dignity of the said Kingdoms and Dominions to be to the Heirs of the Body of the said Princess; and for default of such Issue, to the Princess *Anne* of *Denmark*, and the Heirs of her Body; and for default of such Issue, to the Heirs of the Body of the said Prince of Orange.

And the said Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, do pray the said Prince and Princess of Orange to accept the same accordingly.

And that the Oaths hereafter mentioned be taken by all persons of whom the Oaths of *Allegiance* and *Supremacy* might be required by Law, instead of them; and that the said Oaths of *Allegiance* and *Supremacy* be abrogated.



**I** A. B. Do sincerely Promise and Swear, That I will be Faith-  
ful, and bear true Allegiance to Their Majesties King  
WILLIAM and Queen MARY

So help me God.

**I** A. B. Do Swear, That I do from my heart Abhor, Detest,  
and Abjure, as Impious and Heretical this Damnable Doctrine  
and Position, That Princes Excommunicated or Deprived by  
the Pope, or any Authority of the See of Rome, may be  
Deposed or Murthered by their Subjects; or any other what-  
soever. And I do Delare, that no Forreign Prince, Person, Pre-  
late, State, or Potentate, hath or ought to have any Jurisdiction,  
Power, Superiority, Preheminece or Authority Ecclesiastical or Spi-  
ritual within this Realm.

So help me God.

Jo. Brown, Clericus Parliamentorum.

The same day this Delaration bears Date, Her Royal  
Highness the Princess of Orange arrived in the River of Thames  
in the Afternoon, and was received with all the Hearty De-  
monstrations and Expressions of Joy by the City, that are  
usual on such Occasions.

The 13th. of February, The Lords and Commons Order-  
ed the following Proclamation to be published and made.

**W**Hereas, It hath pleased Almighty God in his Great  
Mercy to this Kingdom, to Vouchsafe us a Miracu-  
lous Deliverance from Popery and Arbitrary Power, and that  
our Preservation is Due, next under GOD, to the Resolu-  
tion and Conduct of His Highness the Prince of ORANGE,  
whom GOD hath Chosen to be the Glorious Instrument  
of such an Inestimable Happiness to us and our Posterity :  
And being Highly Sensible, and Fully Perswaded of the  
Great and Eminent Vertues of Her Highness the Princess of  
ORANGE, whose Zeal for the Protestant Religion, will,  
no doubt bring a Blessing along with Her upon this Nati-  
on. And Whereas, the Lords and Commons, now Assem-  
bled at Westminster, have made a Declaration, and Present-  
ed the same to the said Prince and Princess of ORANGE,



February.



and therein Desired Them to Accept the Crown; who have Accepted the same accordingly. We therefore the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, together with the Lord Mayor and Citizens of *London*, and others of the Commons of this Realm, do with full Consent Publish and Proclaim according to the said Declaration; *WILLIAM* and *MARY* Prince and Princess of *ORANGE* to be *KING* and *QUEEN* of *England*, *France* and *Ireland*, with all the Dominions and Territories thereunto belonging: Who are Accordingly so to be Owned, Deemed, and Taken, by All the People of the aforesaid Realms and Dominions, who are from henceforward bound to acknowledg, and pay unto them, All Faith and True Allegiance; Beseeching *GOD*, by whom Kings Reign, to Bless King *WILLIAM* and Queen *MARY*, with Long and Happy Years to Riegn over us.

*GOD* Save King *WILLIAM* and Queen *MARY*.

*John Brown* Clericus Parliamentorum.

The 15th. of *February*, The Lords and Commons Ordered, That His Majesties most Gracious Answer this day be added to the Engrossed Declaration in Parchment to be enroll'd in Parliament and Chancery; which is as followeth.

*My Lords and Gentlemen,*

**T**His is certainly the Greatest Proof of the Trust you have in us that can be given, which is the thing that maketh us value it the more; and we thankfully accept what you have offered. And as I had no other intention in my coming hither, than to Preserve Your Religion, Laws and Liberties: So you may be sure, that I shall endeavour to Support them, and shall be willing to concur in any thing that shall be for the Good of the Kingdom, and to do all that is in my Power to Advance the Wellfare and Glory of the Nation.

*The Conclusion.*

Thus ended that Stupendious Revolution in *England*, which we have so lately seen; to the great Joy of the Generality of the Protestants of *Europe*, and of many of the Catholick Princes and States, who were at last convinced, that the attempting to force *England* to return under the

Obedience



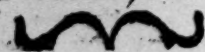
Obedience of the See of *Rome* in the present conjuncture of *February*. Affairs would certainly end in the ruine of this potent Kingdom, and whilest it was doing, the present *French* King would possess himself of the remainder of the *Spanish Netherlands*, and the *Palatinate*, and perhaps of the Electorates of *Cologne*, *Ments*, and *Triers*, a great part of which he hath actually seized whilest the Prince of *Orange* was thus Gloriously asserting the English Liberty.

The true reasons of the Swiftneſs of this Change may eaſily be aſſigned by ſhewing the temper and deſigns of *James* the II. The Temper of *William* the III. our Preſent Sovereign, and The Nature of the English Nation, and of the times all concurring with Wonderful Harmony to produce this wonderful effect. For had *James* the II. undertook any thing but the ſubjecting *England* to Popery, and the Exercise of an Arbitrary Power to that end; his vaſt Revenue, and perſonal Valour, and the Reputation he had gained at home and abroad by the defeat of the *Monmouth* Invaſion, would have gone near to have effected it: and after all this if he had in the beginning of *October* frankly granted all the Ten Propoſals made by the Biſhops, and ſuffered a Parliament to have met and given up a conſiderable number of his Miniſters to Juſtice, and ſuffered the pretended Prince of *Wales*, his Birth to be freely debated and determin'd in Parliament. It would in all probability have prevented or defeated the then intended Invaſion. But whileſt he thought to ſave the Pretended Succeſſion, the Diſpenſing and Suspendiſg power, and the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion to carry on his former deſign with, when he had baſſ'd the Prince of *Orange*; the Nation ſaw through the project, and he loſt all.

Had a Prince of leſs ſecrecy, prudence, courage and intereſt than the Prince of *Orange* undertaken this buſineſs it might probably have miſcarried, but as his cauſe was better, ſo his reputation, conduct, and patience infinitely exceeded theirs; he would not ſtir till he ſaw the *French* Forces ſet down before *Philipsbourg*, and then he was ſure *France* and *Germany* were irrevocably ingaged in a War, and conſequently he ſhould have no other oppoſition than what the *Irish* and *English Roman* Catholicks could make againſt him. For no *English* Proteſtant would fight his Country into Vaſſalage and Slavery to Popiſh Priests,



February.



Priests, and *Italian* Women, when a Parliament sooner or later must at last have determin'd all the things in Controversie, except we resolved once for all to give up our Religion, Laws, Liberties, and Estates to the will of our King, and submit for ever to a *French* Government.

A Nation of less sense than the *English* might have been imposed upon, of less bravery and valour might have been frightened, of a more servile temper might have neglected its Liberties, till it had been too late to have ever recovered them again: But none but a parcel of *Jesuits* bred in a Cloister, and unacquainted with our temper as well as Constitution would ever have hoped to have carried two such things as Popery and Arbitrary power, both at once upon so jealous a Nation as the *English* is, which hates them above any other people in the World.

The cruel slaughter they had made of the poor wretches they took after the defeat at *Bridgwater* ought to have made them for ever despair of gaining any credit with the *Dissenters*, who rarely forgive, but never forget any ill treatment. Yet these little *Politico's* had so little sense as to build all their hopes on the Gratitude and Insensibility of these men; as if they should for *Liberty of Conscience*, arbitrarily and illegally granted, and consequently revocable at the will of the Granter, have sold themselves to everlasting slavery.

They were equally mistaken in their carriage towards the Church of *England* party, for when some of them had pursued both Clergy and Laity with the utmost obloquy, hatred, oppression and contempt to the very moment they found the *Dutch* storm would fall upon them. Then all at once they passed to the other extream, the Bishops are presently sent for, the Government intirely to be put into their hands, and all places, Presses and Papers fill'd with the *Encomiums* of the Church of *England's* Loyalty and Fidelity, who but three days before were Male-contents, if not Rebels and Traytors, for opposing the Kings Dispensing power, and the Ecclesiastical Commission. And which was the height of folly, the same Pen which had been hired to defame and blacken the Church of *England* (the Author of the *Publick Occurrences truly stated*) was ordered to magnifie its Loyalty. By which they gained nothing but the intire and absolute disobliging the whole Protestant party in the Nation, so that for the future no body would serve or trust them.

To



To compleat their folly and madness they perswaded the *February.* King to throw up the Government, and retire into *France*, pretending we would never be able to agree amongst ourselves, but would in a short time be forced to recal him and yield to all those things we had so violently opposed, or if not he might yet at least force us to submit by the succours he might gain in *France*, without ever considering how possible it was we might agree, and how difficult it would be to force us by a *French* Army, which was equally contrary to the Interest of *England* and all *Europe* besides, and to all intents and purposes destructive of the Interest of that Prince they pretended thus to exalt and re-establish.

Had *France* been now in Peace there might yet have been some colour for this, but when all *Europe* was under a necessity to unite against him for its own preservation then to perswade the King of *Great Britain* to desert his Throne, and fly thither for succour, upon hopes of recovering his Kingdoms again by the assistance of the *French* (the mortal and hereditary enemies of the *English*) this was so silly a project that there seems to have been something of a Divine Infatuation in it.

However certainly no rational man will think that all the Princes of *Europe* would sit still and suffer the *French* King to conquer *Britain* under pretence of restoring *James* the Second to that Throne which he had abandon'd, because he could not bring the Prince of *Orange* (their Allie) and all his Protestant Subjects to his own Terms.

And yet if none of them should enterpose but the *Hollanders* alone, the *English* and *Dutch* Fleets being united would render the landing a *French* Army so difficult and uncertain, that it would be next door to madness to trust one to their Navy, which is so much inferior to either of the others singly taken.

So that all things considered, either *James* the Second ought to have staid at home and have made as good terms as he could with the Prince of *Orange*, and his own Subjects: Or if he would have abandon'd his Kingdoms, he ought to have despaired of any restitution, and have betaken himself to a private life as *Christina* Queen of *Sweden* did.

Since



February.

Since I finished that which goes before, we have now certain Intelligence that *James* the Second Landed the 12th. of *March* at *Kingale* in *Ireland*, so that now it cannot be doubted but that he hopes to recover *England* and *Scotland* by the help of the *Irish*; which is all one as if he had done it by the *French*. His succeeding in this design laying us at the mercy of an *Irish Roman Catholick Army*; whose civility and kindness to our Nation we may learn from our Country-men, who after having lost all but their lives, have been forced to flee over to us for shelter and protection. I shall not add any other consideration to perswade my Country-men to defend their King, Queen, and the whole Protestant Succession, their Lives, Liberties, Priviledges and Religion, because this alone is sufficient.

THE



THE  
DESERTION  
DISCUSS'D.

**In a Letter to a Country Gentleman,**

S I R,

§. 1. **I** Don't wonder to find a Person of your Sense and Integrity so much surprized at the Report of the Throne's being declared Vacant, by the Lower House of the Convention: *For how (say you) can the Seat of the Government be Empty, while the King, who all grant had an unquestionable Title, is still Living, and his Absence forced and involuntary? I thought our Laws, as well as our Religion, had been against the Deposing Doctrine; therefore I desire you would Expound this State Riddle to me, and give me the Ground of this late extraordinary Revolution.* In answer to your Question, you may please to take notice, That those Gentlemen of the Convention, and the rest of their Sentiments, who declare a Vacancy in the Government, lay the main stress of their Opinion upon his Majesties withdrawing himself: For now, especially since the Story of the French League, and the Business of the Prince of Wales, are passed over in Silence, most Men believe that the pretended Breach of that which they call, The Original Contract was designed for no more than a popular Flourish.

§. 2. And that you may be not beshocked by seeing the Votes of so considerable and publick a Meeting debated by a private hand, give me leave to remind you, That a Parliament, and a Convention, are two very different Things: The latter, for want of the King's Writs and Concurrence, having no share in the Legislative Power. If it's urged, That the pre-

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sent Posture and Exigence of Affairs, is a sufficient Dispensation with the usual Preliminaries and Forms of Parliament. To this I am obliged to answer, That this pretended *Necessity* is either of their own Making, or of their own Submitting to, which is the same thing; and therefore ought not to be pleaded in Justification of their Proceedings. For if his Majesty had either not been driven out of his Dominions, or invited back upon honourable Terms, they needed not to have had recourse to these singular Methods. And since they have neither the Authority of Law, or Necessity, to support their Determinations, I hope they will not think themselves disobliged, if they are inquired into; and some part of that Liberty which they have taken with his Majesty be returned upon themselves. For all private and unauthorized Opinions are to be regarded no farther than they prove their point. Like Plate without the Royal Impression, they ought not to be obtruded for current Coin; nor rated any higher than the Intrinsic Value of the Metal. Let us examine therefore, if his Majesty has done any thing which imports, either in it self, or by necessary consequence, That he has voluntarily Resigned his Crown, and Discharged his Subjects of their Allegiance. Now the Author of *The Enquiry into the present State of Affairs, &c.* for whose Judgment the Commons seem to have a very great Regard, as appears from their concurrence with him: For their most considerable Votes are, in a manner, transcribed from his 11th. Paragraph. This Author tells us, Pag. 5. *That when a King withdraws himself, and his Seals, without naming any Persons to represent him, the Government is certainly laid down and forsaken by him.* Though afterwards he is so good natured as to add, *That if any imminent present Danger, or just Fear, (though indeed a King can never be decently suspected of that; I suppose his Reason is, because Kings are invulnerable) had driven his Majesty away, it might seem a little too hard to urge this too much.*

§. 3. In order to the confuting this Notion, I shall prove in the

First place, That his Majesty, before his withdrawing, had sufficient Grounds to make him apprehensive of Danger, and therefore it cannot be called an *Abdication*.

Secondly, That the leaving any Representatives behind him was impracticable at this Juncture.

Thirdly,



Thirdly, That we have no Grounds, either from the Laws of the Realm, or those of Nature, to pronounce the Throne void, upon such a Retreat of a King.

§. 4. But before I do this, it's not improper to observe, That this pretence of a Demise, if it signified any thing, cannot affect *Scotland or Ireland*: Not the first, For there his Majesty's Commissioners acted in the usual manner, till they were disturbed: Nor the second, For that Kingdom continues still under the Regular Administration of the Lord Lieutenant. Neither is it sufficient to say, That *Ireland is an Appendage to the Crown of England*, and therefore it must follow its Revolution. For allowing a Demise was really consequent upon a Failure of Seals and Representatives; yet there would be no colour to apply it to a Case where there was no such Omission. For no Forfeiture ought to be stretched beyond the Reason upon which it is grounded. But this only by the way. I shall proceed to prove the first thing propounded, viz. That his Majesty, before his withdrawing, had sufficient Grounds to make him apprehensive of imminent Danger.

§. 5. We are now fallen upon Times in which the most extravagant and almost impossible Things are swallowed without Chewing, and the plainest Truths outfaced and denied; as if Evidence was an Argument against Proof, and Absurdities the only Motives of Credibility: So that now, if ever, we seem fit for Transubstantiation. Had not some Men believed this true, in a great Measure, they would never have disputed against matter of Fact, which was done almost in the Face of the whole Kingdom. To speak to the present Case; Had not his Majesty great Reason to retire, to secure his Person and his Honour, at his first withdrawing from *Whitehal*? which is the time from which our Author dates his pretended Desertion (for he will not allow him to be King at his return) I say, had not his Majesty great Reason to retire when he had met with so many unfortunate Disappointments, with so many surprizings and unparallel'd Accidents? When part of the Army was revolted, and the Remainder too apparently unserviceable? When the People had such fatal and unremovable prejudices against his Majesty's Service? When there were such terrible Disorders in the Kingdom, and all Places were either flaming, or ready to take Fire? What should a Prince do,



when he had scarce any thing left him to lose but himself, but consult his Safety, and give way to the irresistible Evil? But our Author pretends the King's Affairs had a much better Aspect; Let us observe how he proves it. Why he tells us, *That when the Prince of Orange's Proposals came to his Majesty, the Army and the Fleet were left in his Hands.* They were so, that he might pay them for the Prince's Service; for they owned his Majesty's Authority scarce any other way than by receiving his Money, and eating up his Meat. (*It's to be hoped they have since repented of their Actions.*) But the Enquirer goes on with his Inventory of *Forts and Revenues*, which the King was to have still. He may know, if he pleases, that we have but Four considerable Forts in the Kingdom. Now *Hull and Plimouth* had already disposed of themselves, and the *Tower of London* was demanded for the City; so that there was none but *Portsmouth* remaining. And as for the *Revenues*, it's to be feared, the Northern Collections would have been almost as Slender as those in the West. And now one would think our Father began to relent: For he owns, *That some Things, which the Prince of Orange proposed, may be called hard; viz. his demanding that the Laws against Papists which were in Employment might be executed.* But the Enquirer is much mistaken, if he thinks the Prince of Orange insisted upon no more than the bare Execution of the Law in this point. *For the Disbanding of all Papists* (which was part of his Proposals) is much more than what the Law requires; by which the Papists are only excluded from Offices of Command, and Trust. But neither the Test-Acts, nor any others bar the King from Lifting them as common Souldiers. And lastly, to deliver up his best Magazine, and the Strength of his Capital City: To be obliged to pay a Foreign Army, which came over to enable his Subjects to drive him out of his Dominions, were very extraordinary demands, and looked as if there was a Design to reduce him as low in his Honour, as in his Fortune. To forgive a Man who endeavoured to Ruin me, is great Christian Charity; but to *Article away my Estate to him, because he has Injured me, is such a Mortification as no Religion obliges us to.* This is in effect to Betray our Innocence, and Sign away the Justice of our Cause; and own that we have deserved all that hard Usage which has been put upon us; so that it's easie to  
 imagine



imagine what an unconquerable Aversion the Spirit of Princes must needs have to such an Unnatural Penance. In short, when the Forts and Revenue were thus disposed of; *when the Papists were to be Disbanded, and the Protestants could not be trusted*; when the Nation was under such general, and violent Dissatisfactions; when the King, in case of a Rupture, (which was not unlikely) had nothing upon the Matter but his single Person to oppose against the Prince's Arms, and those of his own Subjects; *when his Mortal Enemies, and those were under the highest Forfeitures to his Majesty, were to sit Judges of his Crown and Dignity, if no farther*; when Affairs were in this Tempestuous Condition, To say that a Free and Indifferent Parliament might be Chosen, with relation to the King's Right, as well as the Peoples; and that His Majesty *had no just visible Cause to apprehend himself in Danger, is to out face the Sun, and to trample upon the Understandings, and almost upon the Senses of the whole Nation.*

§. 6. 2. It's not improper to examine what doubty Reasons the Enquirer advances to prove, *the Kings coming from Feversham to Whitehal to be no return to his People.* The reason of his affirming this is apparent; He is sensible what singular usage his Majesty met with, and therefore he would fain unking Him, that it might the better suit with his Character. But, pray, what had the King done to incur a Forfeiture by his First Retirement? Had he quitted the Realm? If that was material, it cannot be alledged, for his Majesty was no farther off than the Coast of Kent. Did he refuse to take Care of his people any longer, when the Lords went down to Visit him to *Whitehal*? No: If he had, he would not have come back when he was at his Liberty. *His return, after some Assurances of fair Treatment, is a plain discovery of the Motives of his withdrawing; and that he came up with an intention to Govern.* For, I believe, few People imagine that his Majesty would take such a Journey, only to have Dutch Guards clap'd upon him; to be hurried out of his Palace, and carried Prisoner down the *Thames* at Noon-day. But *the Seals never appeared.* What time was there for them in 24 Hours? Besides there was an Order of Council with his Majesty at the Head of it, for suppressing the Mobile; Dated Decemb. 18. which was the next Day after his Majesty's return. And when he was sent back to *Rochester,*



chester, he might plainly perceive his Government was at an End for the present. For the Tower was Garrison'd by Foreign Forces: The Lords published an Order by their own Authority, to oblige the Papists to depart the Town: *The City made an Address to the Prince of Orange, which was a Virtual acknowledgment of his Power; and Associations came up to to that purpose out of the Country; (Cambridgeshire Address) not to admit that his Majesty was denied a small Sum of his own Gold to Heal with; As if they had rather poor People should perish with Boyles and Ulcers, than shew common Justice and Humanity to their King. From all these remarkable Circumstances, his Majesty might easily guess how they intended to dispose of him: For no Man in his Senses, who has treated a Prince so Contemptuously in his own Kingdom, will ever permit him either Power, or Liberty, for fear he should remember his former Usage. From what has been said, it's most evident, that his Majesty had all imaginable reason to provide for his own Security in some other Country.*

§. 7. And since his Majesty had sufficient reasons to withdraw, there can be no pretence for an Abdication: For we are to observe, that to Abdicate an Office, always supposes the Consent of him who Quits it. That this is the signification of the Word *Abdico*, appears from *Tully, Salust, and Livie*; to which I shall only add the Learned *Grotius, De Jure Belli, &c. Lib. 1. Cap. 4. Sect. 9.* Where he makes Abdicating the Government, and plainly Giving it up, to be *Terms* of the same importance.

§. 8. And to prevent unreasonable Cavils, he adds, that a Neglect, or Omission in the Administration of Government, is by no means to be Interpretated a Renunciation of it. We have but two Instances with us which looks like an Abdication since the Conquest; which are in the Reign of *Edward II.* and *Richard II.* both which were unjustly Deposed by their Subjects. However they did not renounce their Allegiance, and declare the Throne void, till they had a formal Resignation under the Hands of both those unfortunate Princes. And hence it appears how unlucky our Enquirer is at citing the Laws. For pag. 12. He tells us, *That since these Two Princes have been judged in Parliament for their Male Administration, and since these Judgments have never been vacated by any subsequent*



quent Parliaments; these Proceedings are part of our Law. From hence I observe,

§. 9. 1. That our Author contradicts himself. For here he owns that Male Administration is sufficient to warrant Deposition, and Resistance. But in his Enquiry into the Measures of Submission, &c. (For both these Papers are generally supposed to come from the same Hand) Pag. 5. Par. 14. He is much kinder to the Crown; for there he asserts, *That it is not Lawful to resist the King upon any pretence of Ill Administration, and that nothing less than subverting the Fundamentals of Government will justify an Opposition.* Now I am much mistaken, if Deposing of Kings is not Resisting them with a Witness. But besides his self Contradiction; the case is not to his purpose: For,

§. 10. 1. These Parliaments were called in Tumultuous times, when the Subjects were so hardy as to put their Kings under Confinement. Now if it is against the Constitution of Parliaments to Menace the Two Houses out of their Liberty of Voting freely, then certainly Kings ought not to be overawed by Armies, and Prisons; These Parliaments therefore are very improper to make Precedents of.

§. 11. 2. These Princes were wrought upon so far, as to resign their Crowns, which each of them did, though unwillingly; Let this Enquirer produce such a Resignation from His Majesty, and he says something.

§. 12. 3. He is much mistaken in saying *these Judgments*, as he calls them, *have not been ratified by subsequent Parliaments.* For all those subsequent Parliaments, which declare it Unlawful to take up Arms against the King, do by necessary implication condemn these Deposing Precedents; for it's impossible for Subjects to Depose their Princes without Resisting them.

§. 13. 2. By Act of Parliament the First of Edw. 4. yet remaining at large upon the Parliamento Rolls, and for the greater part recited *verbatim* in the Pleadings in *Baggett's Case*, in the Year Books (*Trin. Term. 9. Edw. 4.*) The Title of *Edw. 4.* by Descent, and Inheritance, and is set forth very particularly; And that upon the Decease of *Rich. 2.* the Crown by Law, Custom, and Conscience, Descended and Belonged to *Edmynd*, Earl of *March*, under whom King *Edw. 4.* claimed.

§. 14. It



§ 14. It is likewise further declared, That *Hen. 4.* against Law, Conscience, and Custom of the Realm of England, Usurped upon the Crown and Lordship thereof, and *Hen. 5.* and *Hen. 6.* occupied the said Realm by Unrighteous Intrusions, and Usurpation, and no otherwise.

§ 15. And in 39. *Hen. 6.* Rot. Parl. when Richard Plantagenet, Duke of York, laid claim to the Crown, as belonging to him by right of Succession it was.

§ 16. 1. Objected in behalf of *Hen. 6.* that *Hen. 4.* took the Crown upon him as next Heir in Blood to *Hen. 3.* not as Conqueror.

§ 17. To this it was Answered, That the pretence of Right as next Heir to *Hen. 3.* was false, and only made use of as a Cloak to shadow the violent Usurpations of *Hen. 4.*

§ 18. 2. It was Objected against the Duke of York, That the Crown was by Act of Parliament Entailed upon *Hen. 4.* and the Heirs of his Body, from whom King *Hen. 6.* did Lineally Descend. The which Act (say they, as it is in the Record) is of Authority to defeat any manner of Title. To which the Duke of York replied; That if *Hen. 4.* might have obtained, and enjoyed the Crowns of England and France by Title of Inheritance, Descent, or Succession, he neither needed, nor would have desired, or made them to be granted to him in such wise, as they be by the said Act, the which takes no Place, nor is of any Force or Effect, against him that is right Inheritor of the said Crowns; as it accordeth with Gods Laws; and all Natural Laws. Which Claim and Answer of the Duke of York; is expressly acknowledged and recognized, by this Parliament, to be Good, True, Just, Lawful and Sufficient. Cotton's Abridgment. Fol. 665, 666.

§ 19. From these Recognitions it plainly follows,

1. That the Succession cannot be interrupted by an Act of Parliament, especially when the Royal Assent is given by a King *De Facto*, and not *De Jure*.

2. The Act 9. of *Edw. 4.* by declaring the Crown to Descend upon Edmund, Earl of March, by the Decease of *Rich. 2.* does evidently imply, that the said Richard was rightful King, during his Life, and consequently that his Deposition was Null, and Unlawful.



If it's demanded, Why his Majesty did not leave *Seals and Commissioners* to supply his Absence? This Question brings me to the Second Point, *viz.* to shew,

That the leaving sufficient Representatives was impracticable at this Juncture. For

1. When the Nation was so much embroiled, and the King's Interest reduced to such an unfortunate Ebb; *It would have been very difficult, if not impossible, to have found Persons who would have undertaken such a dangerous Charge.* That Man must have had a Resolution of an extraordinary Size who would venture upon Representing a Prince who had been so much disrepected in his own Person; whose Authority had been set aside, *and his Ambassador clapt up at Windsor,* when he carried not only an inoffensive, but an obliging Letter. But granting such a Representation had been engaged in; the Commissions must either have extended to the Calling of Parliaments, or not; if not, they would neither have been Satisfactory, nor absolutely necessary. Not Satisfactory, *For the want of a Parliament was that which was accounted the great Grievance of the Nation, as appears from the Prince of Orange's Declaration.* Where he says expressly, *That his Expedition is intended for no other Design but to have a Free and Lawful Parliament assembled, as soon as is possible.* Declar. P. 12.

§. 21. Secondly, This Expedient was not absolutely Necessary; for the Administration of Justice might have proceeded Regularly, without any such Deputation, by Virtue of those Commissions which the *Popish* Judges and Justices of the Peace had already from the King. This I shall prove,

§. 22. 1. From a parallel Instance; King Charles the I. took a Journey into Scotland in 41. during the Session of Parliament at *Westminster*; where, though he appointed Five Lords to sign Bills in his Name, (The Continuation of *Bak. Chron.*) yet the Judges and Justices Acted by vertue of their former Commissions, without any new Authority from any Representatives of His Majesty. Now Scotland is as much a distinct Kingdom from England, as France; and France as much His Majesties Dominions as Scotland: And therefore if Commissions will hold in the King's Absence in one Place, why not in the other?

§. 23. Secondly, The present Judges met in January last



at *Westminster*, to dispatch, some Business in order to keep the Term but were forbidden to proceed by the Prince of Orange's Secretary: So that it is plain, it was the *Opinion of these Reverend Judges, that their Commissions from His Majesty were still in Force.* But in the next place,

§. 24. If His Majesty had deputed any Persons to Represent him in Parliament, this Method would have been attended with new and insuperable Difficulties. For,

§. 25. 1. If they had been Limited they would not have given Satisfaction: For it being impossible to foresee the Business and Votes of a Parliament at a distance; If they had been restrained to certain Points, in all probability they would have wanted Power to have passed all the Bills, and and so their Deputation would not have Answered the Desire of the Houses, and the greatest part of their Grievances might have *been counted unredressed.* If it's said that the Parliament might have requested an Enlargement of their Commission from His Majesty. To this I Answer. *That the Convention may send to His Majesty for an Expedient now if they please.* And, I hope, they will; for I hear his Majesty has been so gracious as to send to them. But,

2. If these Commissioners were unlimited, it would be in their Power to do a great many things prejudicial to the Crown; In such a Case they might alter the Monarchy into a Commonwealth, or Sign the Deposing of his Majesty, if such Bills should happen to be offered. And though there may be many Persons of Honour, and Conscience enough, to lodge such a Trust with: Yet in regard his Majesty has been lately mistaken in some, of whose Fidelity he had so great and Assurance, he has small encouragement to be over confiding for the Future. Indeed no Wise Prince will Trust so vast a Concern, as a Kingdom, with the Honesty of another, especially when many of his Subjects are disaffected, and in a Ferment. So that nothing can be more unreasonable than to expect such Plenipotentiary and Absolute Commissioners.

§. 26. 3. I shall prove in the last place, That we have no Grounds, either from the Laws of the Realm, or from those of Nature, to pronounce the Throne void, upon such a Retreat of a Prince as we have before us.



1. To begin with the Laws of the Realm, which are either Acts of Parliament, or those we call Common Laws. Now there is no Statute, so much as pretended, to support this Deserting Doctrine; and if there was, it's certain no such can be produced. Indeed a Prince must be very weary of Governing, and void of the common Inclinations of Mankind; who would sign a Bill of this Nature, and give his Subjects such a dangerous Advantage against himself, and his Posterity.

Neither has this Opinion any better Countenance from Common Law: For Common Law is nothing but Antient Usage, and Immemorial Custom. Now Custom supposes Precedents and Parallel Cases: But it's granted of all Hands, That the Crown of *England* was never judged to be Demised, by the withdrawing of the Prince before now. And, therefore it follows, by undeniable Consequence, that this Opinion can have no Foundation in the Common Law, because there is not so much as one Ruled Case to prove it by. Nay, our Laws are not only silent in the maintenance of this Paradox, but against it, as I shall make good by Two Precedents.

§. 27. 1. From the Case of *Edward* the IV. who having not sufficient Force to Encounter the Earl of *Warick*, who had raised an Army for King *Henry*, was obliged to fly the Kingdom; but that he deputed any Persons to Represent him, our Histories don't give us the least Intimation: Neither was it Objected at his return, that he had Abdicated the Government, by omitting to Constitute a Regent. Neither is it material to Object, that all Disputes of this Nature were over-ruled by his Victorious Army; For if it had been the known Law of this Realm, that a Prince had *ipso facto* forfeited his Crown by going beyond Sea, without leaving a Deputation, though his Departure should happen to be Involuntary: If this, I say, had been the Law of the Kingdom, it would not only have been a great advantage to *Henry* the VI. and made the Nation ring of it, (of which there is *altum Silentium*;) but we may be well assured, King *Edward* would not have conferr'd Honour, worn the Crown, and taken the State and Authority of the King upon him, till he had been Re-Established by Parliaments. But that he did Exercise all



Acts of Sovereignty before the calling of a Parliament, appears from *Daniel, Stow, and Baker*. And when the Parliament was Convened, those who had taken up Arms against him were found Guilty of Treason, and his Adherents were restored to Blood and Estate (*Daniel*.) But there was no Confirmation, or Resisting of his Title, which is a Demonstration there was no need of it; and that this Abdicating Doctrine was perfectly unknown to that Age.

§. 28. 2. To come nearer our own Times, what Seals, or Commissioners did *Charles the II.* leave behind him after *Worcester* Fight? And yet, I beleive, no Mortal ever urged this as an Argument against his Restauration. If it be Answered, that there was much more danger in this case, than in that before us. To this I reply, that if we Examine the matter more narrowly, we shall find the disparity very inconsiderable. For was there not a numerous Army of Foreigners and Subjects in the Field, against his present Majesty at his retiring? What Power or Authority, or so much as Liberty was there left him? And I am afraid that at that time he had fewer Friends to stand by him, than his Brother after that unfortunate Battle in 51.

§. 29. And since this pretended Dereliction has no manner of Protection from the Constitution, it has no other refuge but the Laws of Nature to fly to; but a very little Storming will serve to drive it from this last Retrenchment.

§. 30. For the Law of Nature is nothing but the Reason of the Thing. Now impartial Reason has always a regard to the Circumstances of Action, and makes Allowances for Surprise, for Straitness of Time, for Resentment upon extraordinary provocation; and never takes advantage of an Omission, which may be fairly Interpreted, from any or all of these Causes. I mention this not that the present Case needs any such Allowance, but to shew that the Law of Nature would admit it, if Occasion required. 'Tis true, written Laws, either through the ambiguity of the Words, or the defectiveness of the Sense, are often abused by ill Men, and wrested contrary to the Design of the Legislators:  
But



But the Law of Nature is not tyed up to the Alphabet, nor bound to determine by the Imperfections of former Ages. Therefore this Principle will give the Enquirer no *just Advantages* against his Majesty; for Equity has no Quirks in it, nor ever lies at Catch. *Reason is always Just and Generous, it never makes Misfortune an Accusation, nor judges in favour of Violence. Indeed, what can be more Unrighteous* (though the Case was private and inferior) than that any one should Suffer for being Injured, and be barred his Right for the Faults of others? If a Man should forfeit his House to those who set it on Fire, only because he quitted it without giving some formal Directions to the Servants; and be obliged to lose his Estate, for endeavouring to preserve his Life. I believe it would be thought an incomprehensible sort of Justice. If to proceed in this manner be not to establish Wickedness by a Law, I have done. If Princes may be thus roughly treated, their Birth is a Misfortune to them; and, we may say, they are Crown'd rather for Sacrifice than Empire. At this rate, the People must e'en Govern themselves, for the Throne will be a Place of too much Danger to sit on any longer. *We have an Excellent Church, and we do well to take due Care to continue its Establishment; but to dispossess our Prince, upon this Score, has as little Divinity as Law in it.* To endeavour to preserve our Religion by such Methods will make it more Fatal to us in the event than Atheism it self. *'Tis a mistake to think the World was made for none but Protestants; and if Dominion was founded in Grace, I am afraid our share would not be great in the Division.*

§. 31. If it is Objected, That his Majesty's not sending to his People upon his Removal, is an Argument that he intended to govern them no longer. To this I Answer,

1. That I am pretty well assured, That no Man, who makes this Objection, believes the truth of it; and therefore I might safely leave it to his own Conscience to confute him.

Secondly, His Majesty was scarcely Landed in France before the Administration was conferred upon the Prince of Orange; which Action might very well discourage his Majesty from sending any Messages so soon as he intended: But since, it's known, his Majesty has sent Letters (if not to the Privy Council, as some affirm, yet) to the Convention.

§. 33.



§. 33. *Thirdly*, Those who were the Occasion of his Majesty's Departure should (one would think) have waited on him, and invited him back. "For without Question the injuring Person ought to make the first step towards an Accommodation, especially when Wrong is done to his own Prince. Now whether his Majesty has been well used in this Revolution, or not, I leave the World to judge now, but God will do it afterwards.

Thus (SIR) I have ventured to give you my Thoughts upon this Subject; and am

*Affectionately Yours.*

A N

### *Answer to the Desertion Discuss'd.*

**H**AVING thus as truly and as shortly as I can from the Papers I have Collected, stated the matter of Fact, without which it is impossible to pass any judgment upon the merits of the case; I come now in the next place to consider the small Piece which has necessitated me to take all this pains.

The Author of it is my acquaintance, and a person for whom I have a great esteem, both on the account of his Profession, and of his personal worth, learning and sobriety, so that I cannot believe he had any ill design either in the writing or publishing of it; his zeal for the Church of England's Loyalty, and the difficulty and unusualness of the present case having been the occasions if not the causes of his mistake, and therefore I will endeavour to shew him and the world his error, with as much candor and sweetness as he himself can with, because I have the same design for the main that he had, *viz.* the Honour of the Church of England, and the safety of Government, and especially our Monarchy.

It



It begins thus, Sir, I don't wonder to find a Person of your sense and integrity so much surprized at the report of the Thrones being declared vacant, by the Lower House of the Convention: for how (say you) can the Seat of the Government be empty, whilst the King, who all grant had an unquestionable Title, is still living, and *his absence forced and involuntary*? I thought our Laws as well as our Religion had been against the Deposing Doctrine; therefore I desire you would expound this State Riddle to me, and give me the Grounds of this late extraordinary Revolution. *Seet. 1.* In Answer to which he tells his Country Gentleman, That the Gentlemen of the Lower House of Convention lay the main stress of their opinion upon his Majesties withdrawing himself, &c.

Now that the King was *de facto* gone is not to be disputed, but the Question is, Whether his absence was truly forced and involuntary or no, and by whom he was forced. Our Author is for the affirmative, and afterwards proposeth his Reasons, which I shall examine. And this Question being well stated, the business of the Deposing Doctrine will appear nothing to the purpose.

Now before our Author could regularly enter upon this Question, he ought first to have considered what the causes of this force was, and what had been done by the King on his part, and then have come to the other, Whether the absenting himself was a fault or a misfortune.

So that to begin at the right end of the Question we must enquire what were the causes of this Revolution, who were the Parties concern'd, how things were managed on both sides, and then come in the last place to the Question he begins with.

Now, Sir, are the Prince of Orange's Declaration, and the Bishops Ten Proposals as to the things complained of true or false? Are they justifiable or not by the Laws of England? For if the King had done nothing which he could not fairly justify his *Title was unquestionable*, and therefore he ought not to have been disturbed either by his own Subjects, or his Neighbours, during his life. But then, Sir, I think he had no right to govern us as he did, and he had as little reason to expect (whatever we did) that his Neighbours would sit still and suffer him to do what he pleased to them and us to the Ruin of Europe.

The



The King of England, saith the Prince of Orange in his Declaration, have given the greatest credit to those Counsellors who have overturned the Religion, Laws and Liberties of his Realms: And subjected them in all things relating to their Consciences, Liberties and Properties, to Arbitrary Government; and that not only by secret and indirect ways, but in open and undisguised manner, §. 2. Pag. 10. §. 17. He informs us, That both he and his dearest and most entirely beloved Consort the Princess, have endeavoured to signify in terms full of respect to the King, the just and deep regret which all these proceedings have given us, &c. But those evil Counsellors have put such ill Constructions on these our good intentions, that they have endeavoured to alienate the King more and more from us: as if we had designed to disturb the peace and happiness of the Kingdom. Sect. 19. To crown all, there are great and violent presumptions inducing us to believe, that these evil Counsellors in order to the carrying on their ill designs, and to the gaining to themselves the more time for the effecting of them, for the encouraging of their Complices, and for the discouraging of all good Subjects (they) have published that the Queen have brought forth a Son, tho there have appeared, both during the Queens pretended bigness, and in the manner in which the Birth was managed, so many just and visible Grounds of suspicion, that not only we our selves, but all the good Subjects of those Kingdoms, do vehemently suspect that the Pretended Prince of Wales was not born by the Queen. And it is notoriously known to all the world, that many both doubted of the Queens bigness, and of the Birth of the Child, and yet there was not any one thing done to satisfy them, or to put an end to their Doubts.

Things being in this state, He resolved to go over to England (Sect. 21.) and to carry with him sufficient force to defend him from the violence of those evil Counsellors, and then he declares that this Expedition was intended for no other design but to have a free and lawful Parliament assembled as soon as is possible. (Sect. 25.) To the end that all the violences and disorders which have overturned the whole Constitution of the English Government may be fully redressed in a Free and Legal Parliament, to which he would also refer the Enquiry into the Birth of the Pretended Prince of Wales, and all things relating to it, and to the Right of Succession.

Now if all this is true (which no English man can deny) then had the Prince of Orange the justest cause that ever man had to do what he did; and the King of England was bound in justice



ffice to have Summoned a *Parliament*, and to have referr'd the things in question to them, there being no other competent Judg on Earth of the things in dispute; but if he would not suffer a Parliament to meet, then the Sword must determine the Question between them, for they were both Sovereign Princes, and had no Superior over them to decide it. The King accordingly referr'd it to the Sword, for he refused to the last to suffer a Parliament to meet till the Invasion was over, and the Prince had no reason to take his word for it.

The Protestants of *England* had no reason to fight against this Prince, who came to right their Cause, and offered to refer all to a Parliament of *English* Nobility and Gentry, and the Papists alone were not able to resist the Prince's Army, especially after many of the King's Army were gone over to the Prince, so that the King was at last forced to call a Parliament in the manner I have set forth, and he promised both the Nation and the Prince, the Parliament should meet and act freely, but before this was possible to be brought about, without any cause given or alledged, he disbanded his Army, sent away the Queen, the Child, and the Seals, and then followed them himself, leaving the Nation in Anarchy and confusion. Now I will refer this to the World whether this absence was not voluntary, unforced, and criminal, after he had thus passed his word?

For supposing he had stayed on the Princes terms, and the Parliament had met, no Act could have passed without his own consent, and if any thing had been required that had not been just and legal, if then he had withdrawn, his case would have been more justifiable, and perhaps he should have found enough to have defended it, and so needed not to have withdrawn.

The Story of the *French League*, and the *Prince of Wales*, are not passed so over (tho they are postponed) but we may hear more of them in due time; tho when all is done, there will be no reason to expect that all the Prate of this populous Town should be proved to be true, it will be sufficient if his now Majesty justify his own Publick Declarations, which I believe no man doubts but he can, and has done, the Three Estates having in their *Declaration* subscribed to the truth of all the main parts of his.



The King being thus gone, some way or other must be taken to bring us again to a settlement, and that of a *Convention* of the Three Estates was taken as least liable to Exception and Mistake; but then he tells us, *Sect. 2.* That *the Necessity* alledged for their justification, is either of their own making, or of their own submitting to, which is the same thing; and therefore ought not to be pleaded in justification of their Proceedings. Now this is not True: The King would never have left his people if he had not first lost their hearts by the things charged upon his Counsellors; nor then neither if he had not first resolved never to do them right against those Counsellors, because he had reason to believe this would have satisfied them; so that his late Majesty was not driven out of his Dominions by his Enemies (as he styled them) but by his pretended Friends, who put him upon doing ill things, and then would not suffer him to Redress them.

Well but *If he had been invited back upon Honourable Terms, they needed not have had recourse to these singular Methods.*

Why how does he know that? The King had Honourable Terms offered him before he went, and they would not stop him from going; and if they had sent more Honourable Terms after him who can tell whether he would have accepted, or have stood to them? He had passed his Word before, that a Parliament should meet, yet he Burnt the Writs and withdrew.

Well, but however our Author is resolved the late Kings withdrawing himself is no resigning of his Crown, or discharging of his Subjects of their Allegiance. In order to which he undertakes to shew that his late Majesty before his withdrawing had sufficient Grounds to make him apprehensive of danger, and therefore it cannot be call'd an Abdication. 2. That the leaving any representative behind him was impracticable at this juncture. But there are two other things which he has not mentioned, the first of which is, who gave the occasion of these Dangers which he apprehended, and the Second, whether he had no other way to avoid those Dangers but by withdrawing. Now it is plain that the ill courses taken under his Government had brought upon him those Dangers, and that if he would have suffered a Parliament to meet he needed not to have withdrawn, and consequently his going away rather than submitting the things in dispute



pute to a Parliament was a *voluntary Abdication.*

*Sect. 4.* Our Author has a scruple whether the Kings going away signifies any thing to *Scotland and Ireland*; now all this is no better than *banter*, for when he left *England* he left them too, tho' the one was for sometime, and the other still is under the *Regular Administration of the Lord Lieutenant* as he tells us, but those that have since come from thence assure us there is nothing Regular in his Administration, but the British Protestants are treated as Enemies by this Minister of his; so that *Ireland* being an Appendage of *England*, and thus treating our Brethren, ought by us to be taken for a Rebel and an Enemy, let the pretence be what it will; Their Loyalty to the Late King not excusing but Aggravating their Injuries to his Country men, who have done nothing to deserve this usage, but it is to be hoped will find hands enough to revenge it in due time.

Our Author in the 5 *Sect.* is to prove the late King had sufficient Grounds, &c. omitting his Rhetorick, *Had not his Majesty* (saith he) *great Reason to Retire, to secure his Person and Honour, at his first withdrawing from Whitehal? When he had met with so many unfortunate disappointments, with so many surprizing and unparallell'd Accidents?* &c. — I say no, he ought to have considered what was the Cause of all these Misfortunes, and to have applied himself with so much the more Industry to the quieting of his people, which the sitting of the Parliament would in all probability have effected. But what could he promise himself by withdrawing, but the bare saving of his Life and Liberty with the loss of his Crown, now his Life and Liberty were in no Danger as is plain, for after he was brought back a Prisoner, and suffered to go away again without any hinderance. There are many indiscreet things said in this Paragraph which I could easily expose, but I would not make this Answer too long, nor exasperate any body against the Author, and therefore I will pass them over.

*To be obliged* (saith he) *to Pay a Foreign Army which came over to enable his Subjects to drive him out of his Dominions, Looked as if there was a design to reduce him as low in his Honour, as in his Fortune.* The Prince saith in his Declaration *Sect. 21.* *That he intended nothing but to have a Free and Lawful Parliament Assembled as soon as was possible. And this might*



have been done without driving the King out of his Kingdom, and it is very difficult to imagine how he could at first propose more to himself, nor would it have been any diminution of the Kings Honour to have paid the Dutch Army a few Weeks or Months till things could have been settled.

*When the Forts and Revenues were thus disposed off, when the Papists were to be disbanded, And the Protestants could not be trusted, when the Nation was under such violent and general dissatisfactions; when the King in case of a Rupture (which was not unlikely) had nothing but his single Person to oppose against the Princes Arms, and those of his own Subjects. — Well what then? Why it was time to be gone. No Sir it was time to be better Advised than he had been by those that had brought him into this deplorable State. It was time to despair of ever being able to Set up Popery and an Arbitrary Power in England, to have reflected on the breach of his former Promises and Oaths which had so Exasperated his Subjects against him, but by other measures might very easily have been again appeased, and deserved after all rather to be trusted than those Popish Souldiers he was so fond of to his Ruine, because he had formerly had sufficient Experience of their Loyalty, till he had made it impossible for them to serve him without destroying their Religion and their Civil Liberties.*

*When his Mortal Enemies, and those who were under the highest forfeitures to his Majesty were to sit Judges of his Crown and Dignity, if no further, &c. The Power of an heated Imagination! Why after all, these were the three Estates of England whom he thus blackens, or a part of them, or rather the Church of England Nobility and Gentry, the same men that were chosen, and for the most part must be chosen again if we were to choose to morrow as to the Lower House, and as to the Upper the Bishops and the Peers always are and must the be same: Nor were they to sit Judges of his Crown and Dignity (for they must have Sworn Allegiance to him again at their meeting) much less of his Life or Liberty; but only of his former Actions, his Ministers, and of the Birth of the pretended Prince of Wales. And he had Reason to have expected great Candor from them, having had so great Experience of them before. When a Gentleman of the Church of England could thus barangue it against his own Party, and*  
interest



Interest, we need not wonder if that Unfortunate Prince found some *Jesuits* about him who would persuade him rather to abandon his Crown, Kingdom and People, than the Glorious design of forcing *England* once more to submit to the yoke of *Rome*.

*Section 6.* Our Author is at a loss to find the Reason why his coming from *Feverham* to *Whitehal* is not allowed to be a return to his people; now if he please to look into the former History he will find it was not voluntary but forced (tho he was not then known) and in all probability the fear continued upon him when the force was removed, for then he saw he could not go away without the Prince's leave, and that was the true reason of his inviting the Prince to *London*, where he could not keep him out if he would. Pray what had the King done to incur a Forfeiture by his first retirement? had he quitted the Realm? Yes, he had, and the Government too, and necessitated his own Menial Servants to submit to the Prince by the Famous Address made at *Guild-hall* the 11th. of *December*. So that the Prince was now actually invested with the Government; the whole Nation having submitted to him; and it was at his choice whether he would treat him as a King now; nor had he any great reason to do so, considering how lately he had broke his word to him and the Nation.

His return after some assurance of Fair Treatment, is a plain Discovery of the Motives of his withdrawing; and of his intention to Govern. Had it been purely Voluntary, I would have allowed the Consequence; but when he did, and said all that he could to have got out of the hands of the *Feverham* men without Discovering himself, and was at last brought up a Prisoner, and discovered by those who knew him after he was Landed; for him, after all this to return to *White-Hall*, is no Argument of his intention to stay and Govern us. But admit it were, What proof did he give that he would change his Measures? Was not *White-Hall* crowded with *Irish* and *English Roman Catholicks* as before? Was there any one step towards the Satisfying of his Protestant Subjects of his better Intentions towards them? The only Order of Council he made after his return, was apparently in favour of the *Papists*, so that by that we may guess what would have followed. The rest of the Paragraph is either mistimed, mistaken.



ken or nothing to the purpose, for I will grant him his Late Majesty had some cause, as well as free leave to withdraw the second time.

So that after all, I Conclude just contrary to my Author, the first withdrawing was causeless, and therefore Voluntary, and therefore in his own Notion an *Abdication*.

From the *VIIIth. Section* to the *XXth. Section*, is spent in a Controversie with the Author of the *Present State of Affairs*, about the *Abdication* or *Deposing* of *Richard II.* and *Edward II.* and as I am no Friend to the *Deposing Doctrine* in General, nor have any good Opinion of those Actions in particular nor those Books by me now, which are absolutely necessary to the Discussing those Questions, I shall leave the afore-said Author to make his own defence if he please, and go to his *20th. Section*, where he proposeth this Question.

*If its Demanded, Why his Majesty did not leave Seals and Commissioners to supply his Absence? It was Impracticable at this Juncture.*

Now if this Answer is true; then it follows, that it was impossible his late Majesty should reign any longer, for if he would not Govern us himself, and either would not or could not find any other person or persons to supply his place, and this was brought upon him by his own Act, then was his Government and right at an end: Government supposeth a Governour and Persons Governed, if one of them fail, the other fails too, and the blame falls on the party that gives the cause.

Nor was it possible for us to continue in a state of *Anarchy*, however it was brought upon us, but after he was gone, it was absolutely necessary that we should set up another in his place, or run into Confusion, and a state of War. And when we had once taken this care for our selves considering how ill we had been used, it was very probable we should not be very willing to return again under his power, and therefore his late Majesty ought to have continued his Post, what Difficulties soever he had struggled with, even to the hazard of his *Life and Liberty*; or if he abandon'd his people to have expected that they would take care to provide for themselves as they did, which was to put his *Antagonist* in the actual Possession of the Government, for we could then much less than he find



find any other person or persons to set up. But let us hear his Reasons.

*When the Nation was so much embroiled, and the Kings interest reduced to such an unfortunate Ebb; It would have been very difficult, if not impossible to have found persons who would have undertaken such a dangerous Charge.* Now this must be understood of his first withdrawing, tho' he confounds it with the second, for then I will grant it was not only difficult but Impossible. But when he went first from *White-Hall* doubtless this was well considered, and it would put an end to all our disputes if we knew the true Reasons which were then alledged for his going. The three Lords which were sent to treat with the *Prince*, are said to have returned his Answer the Evening before the King went away by an Express; but it is Notorious, he resolved to go before the *Queen* went, and the next *Paris Gazett* told us he was expected every Tide in *France*, so that it was no secret there; so that what so ever Answer the *Prince* made, he was resolved to be gone: Yet he had promised the Nation and the *Prince* there should be a *Free Parliament*, Now if the Nation was already so *Imbroiled*, and the *Kings Interest* at so low an *Ebb*, his going away must needs reduce his Kingdoms and Affairs into a much worse Estate. The result of all which is, that having well considered all things he at last resolved rather than suffer a *Parliament* to meet, and determine the differences between him, and his People, and the *Prince of Orange*: He would abandon his People, when no body durst undertake to supply his place by reason of the Difficulties; and this is a real and true *Abdication*. For I will suppose after all that it was absolutely necessary, that a *Parliament* should meet, and that we must have been absolutely ruined one way or other, if one had not met, for if *James the II.* could have reserled himself without one then. It is past all Controversie he would after that never have suffered one to meet and act freely, who would abandon his Kingdom rather than suffer a *Parliament* in this Extremity, when he had no other way to save himself. And after he was gone nothing but a Meeting of the three Estates could have sufficient Authority to Re-Establish our shattered Government, and settle the Nation.



But (saith my Author) Granting such a representation had been engaged in; The Commissions must either have extended to the calling of a Parliament, or not, if not they would neither have been satisfactory, nor absolutely necessary, nor satisfactory; for the want of a Parliament was that which was accounted the great Greivance of the Nation as appears from the Prince of Orang's Declaration where he says expressly, That his expedition is intended for no other design but to have a free and lawful Parliament assembled as soon as was possible.

Now here our Gentleman leaves us in the Dark, without telling us what he thought, but §. 25. He reassumes it and shews that if the Commissioners were limited, the greatest part of the Grievances might have been counted unredress'd, if unlimited, it would be in their Power to do a great many things prejudicial to the Crown.— And his Majesty having been lately mistaken in some of whose fidelity he had had so great an assurance, he has small encouragement to be over confiding for the future. That is, it is fit he should trust no body so far. Now I think I have sufficiently proved that we were in such circumstances, that if we had not had a Parliament we had been certainly ruin'd; And therefore any Deputation without a Commission to hold a Parliament would have signified nothing, and a Commission that had not extended to all those Grievances which the Majority of the three Estates should have judged necessary to be redress'd would have signified as little, so that whatever the difficulties or distrusts of the King were at that time he saw he must yield the point after he had struggled as long as was possible; and now when he had now passed his Word, it was too late to revoke it, and therefore there was that necessity added to the other of holding one: Now Sr. if we had yielded this point, there had been an End of the English Liberties for ever: If he had yielded it, what inconvenience could have followed, which did not certainly attend his Desertion of us; but if he had stayed, he might in all probability have saved his main Stake, and have regained the Affections of his people again, and so have ended his Days in Honour and Peace in his own Palace, and amongst his good Subjects. At least there was so great a probability of all this, that no man but he would have taken the other way. Nor he neither if he had suffered this Question to have



have been debated in his Privy Council, and had heard what all sides could have said for it.

SECT. 21. He tells us *this expedient* (the appointing of a representative) *was not absolutely necessary*; for the Administration of Justice might have proceeded regularly without any such Deputation, by virtue of those Commissions which the Judges, and Justices of the Peace had already from the King. So that here was no need of Seals or Commissioners tho the Nation was imbroiled to that heighth, that no body durst have undertaken this dangerous Charge, as he tells us the Section before, and the King was gone. Thus men loose themselves when they meddle with what they do not understand. The Tumults which arose that very day in London, and spread themselves (with the news of the Kings withdrawing) all over the Nation, do sufficiently confute this airy Notion. And at this time both the Judges and Justices of the Peace were at almost as Low an Ebb of Authority and Credit with the People as their Master, by reason of the many unqualified men which had been imployed, and the things they had done contrary to Law; he could not but know how the late Lord Chancellor, Sir Roger Lestrangle and many others were treated by the People, and yet he tells us the Administration of Justice might have proceeded regularly, yes, we might have lived without any King, Magistrates, or Execution of Justice at all, if all men would have been quiet and minded their own business.

Section 22 We have a whimsey of a Journey of Charles the first into Scotland and that five Lords were appointed by him to sign bills in his Name, but the Judges and Justices acted by virtue of their former Commissions, without any new Authority from these Representatives of his Majesty. Now to what end is all this; why to prove that Commissions will hold tho the King is absent. Who ever doubted this, for without this had been allowed, he could have had no representative. But I thought he would have given us an instance of a King that had Stole out of his Kingdom, and had left no body to have supplied his place (which Charles I. did) and yet after he was gone no body knew whether, to return no body knew when, his people had been Governed by his Judges, and Justices of the Peace; and then this should have been an Example for England.



Henry the 3<sup>d.</sup> of France was first King of Poland and hearing of his brothers Death stole away without Leaving any Deputy: But then the Kingdom of Poland call'd a *Dyet* and Judg'd it an *Abdication*, and proceeded to the Election of a New King as if he had been Dead. The Instances of this nature must be very rare, but who ever heard of a Prince that withdrew himself from his people, or was forced away and yet no body was put in his place? Certainly James the 2<sup>d.</sup> fore-saw what would follow; and in some sort consented to it, rather than to the setting of a Parliament.

§ 26. He undertakes to prove in the last place that we have no Grounds either from the Laws of the Realm; or from those of Nature to pronounce the Throne void, upon such a retreat of a Prince as we have before us. This is bold and very peremptory considering there had then a Vote passed for it in the Lower house of the Convention; And that this Gentleman is a Clergy-man and knows very little of the Laws of England.

There is (said he) no Statute so much as pretended to support this Deserting Doctrine, he might have better called it this right of providing for our selves, when we had no body to take care off us. There is no Statute to enable us to meet and chose a new King if the whole Royal Line should happen to be extinct, yet this may very probably happen at one time or another. What shall we therefore continue in a State of Anarchy for ever?

Neither has it any foundation in common Law: For common Law is nothing but Ancient usage and Immemorial Custom. Now Custom Supposeth Precedents and Parallel Cases: But it is granted on all hands, that the Crown of England was never judg'd to be demised, by the withdrawing of the Prince before. Such a withdrawing as this I believe never happened in England before; nor ever will again; and it is Stupendiouly wonderful that it happened now. There was nothing asked of the King but what he ought to have granted freely (*viz.*) the calling of a Free and Lawful Parliament, which he said he was resolv'd to have had tho the Prince had not entered England, and so soon as he was retired he would hold such a Parliament, then he came further and promised to hold a Parliament the 15<sup>th</sup> of January, and sent the Noble-men to the Prince to adjust the Preliminaries, who had as good an Answer as they could expect, but



but before it was possible the late King should know what it would be, *whilest all men rested secure under the Expectation of that meeting*, The King for Reasons wholly unknown to us, burns the Writs, sends away the Seals, withdraws himself, and disbands his Army. Now if he can find a case Parallel to this in the History of the whole world. *Erit mihi Magnus Apollo.*

Declaration at  
Guild-Hall.

Nay saith he our Laws are not only silent in the maintenance of this Paradox, but against it as I shall make good by two Instances. The first of these is that of *Edward the Fourth* who was forced to fly, without leaving any representative yet returned, and regained the Crown. King *Edward* was surprized under pretence of a Treaty and sent Prisoner to *Warwick Castle*, and made his escape out of Custody; after this *Henry the Sixth* was again Crowned, and *Edward the Fourth* declared a Traytor in Parliament, and an Usurper of the Crown, and all his Estate confiscated; and the like Judgment passed against all his Adherents, and all the Statutes made by him were revoked. After this *Edward the Fourth* returned into *England*, and pretending to lay aside all Claim to the Crown, and only to seek the recovery of his Lands which belonged to him, as Duke of *York*, which he confirmed to the men of *York* by his Oath; being thus received in the North, he won over his Brother *Clarence*, and hasted to *London*, and there he took poor King *Henry* his Prisoner again; and in a Battel slew the Earl of *Warwick* who came to rescue King *Henry*, and in another Battel defeated *Margaret* the Wife of *Henry the Sixth*; took, and in cold blood murdered Prince *Edward the Eldest Son of Henry the Sixth*, and not long after *Henry the Sixth* himself.

Now what saith our Letter-man to all this, If it had been a known Law of *England*, that a Prince had *Ipsa facto* forfeited his Crown by going beyond Sea, without leaving a Deputation, tho his departure should happen to be involuntary; it would have been a great Advantage to *Henry the Sixth*. Yes doubtless his departure did facilitate the Recrowning of *Henry the Sixth*, for he was not so well beloved as *Edward the Fourth* was, and it is apparent the Nation swore Allegiance to *Henry the Sixth*, *de novo*, for that very cause, for no body then questioned but that *Edward's* was the better Title, and the Crown was En-  
tailed



tailed to *Henry* and his Heirs Male, and for want of such Issue to *George Duke of Clarence*, and his Heirs; and when *Edward* the Fourth after this came up to *London*, every body forsook *Henry* the Sixth, and he was retaken and imprisoned without any resistance. Now after two Victories what wonder was it if *Edward* the Fourth exercised all Acts of Sovereignty, (and Tyranny too) before the calling of a Parliament, and in it restored all his own party, and attainted King *Henry's*. He might as well have proved it lawful to stab and murder Kings and Princes, and to swear and forswear from the same story.

His next Instance is the flight of *Charles* the second from *Worcester* fight, which was nothing to the purpose neither, for that Prince had done nothing to forfeit his right, and was ready to have done any thing to assure his subjects of theirs: But *James* the Second had as is confessed on all hands violated the rights of his Subjects above any Prince that ever swayed this Scepter, and would rather throw up the Government, than suffer a Parliament to meet to redress their Grievances, and this was the only reason, why he, as our Author saith, *Had fewer friends to stand by him than his Brother had after the unfortunate Battel of Worcester in 1651.*

The true Fountain of the Law that is to Determin this difficult and rare Case is our Fundamental Constitution, and the General Laws and Practise of other Nations in the like or simular Instances. And as there is an *Analogy* of Faith in *Theology*, so there is an *Analogy* here too, for those who are sufficiently Qualified to judge by; but then they must be no young smatterers in Law, History or State Politicks. Nor was this Question determin'd by such, but by the whole three Estates upon Reasons altogether unknown (perhaps) to this Gentleman, but which may be sufficient to satisfy all the Princes in Christendom when they shall be laid before them. In the mean time the Judgment of the States is conclusive to us, and tho' we know not all the Reasons they might have, yet we now know enough to acquiesce and be satisfied. But then this has been so very well laid down, and pursued by the Author of *the Case of Allegiance in our present Circumstances considered in a Letter from a Minister in the City, to a Minister in the Country*; that I will rather refer my Reader to that Book, than transcribe it to no purpose.



In the 29. Sect. He tells us the last refuge of the Case of *Dereliction* are the Laws of Nature, *but a very little storming will serve to drive it from this last Retrenchment.* Bold and like an *Hero*, considering whom he engageth with.

For (saith he) *the Law of Nature is nothing but the reason of the thing, very true. Now Impartial reason has always a regard to the circumstances of Action, and makes allowances for Surprise, for streightness of time, for resentment upon Extraordinary Provocation, and never takes Advantage of an Omission which may be fairly Interpreted, from any, or all of these causes.* Now tho he saith *the present case needs not any such allowances;* Yet I will be so fair as to give all these Advantages and put it upon this fair Issue.

1. Was not the whole *English* constitution acknowledged by the Late King to be so much in his favour, That he said in his First Speech to the Council, *I have been reported a Man for Arbitrary power, but that is not the first Story that has been made of me And I shall make it my endeavour to preserve this Government both in Church and State as it is now by Law Established. I know the Principles of the Church of England are for Monarchy, and the Members of it have shewed themselves good and Loyal Subjects, Therefore I shall always take care to defend and Support it : I know too that the Laws of England are Sufficient to make the King as Great a Monarch as I can wish; and as I shall never Depart from the Just rights and prerogatives of the Crown; So I shall never invade any Mans Property :* Yet after all this Look upon nine of the ten Proposals made by the the Bishops, Look upon the Prince of Orange's Declaration, Look upon the Declaration made by the Lords and Commons the 12th. of February last past and you will soon be satisfied in how many instances he had violated the Laws and Liberties of this Kingdom, and Sought the Ruine and utter Subversion of this *Loyal, Monarchical Church of England.* This conduct Lasted to the very moment they knew the Dutch preparations were made against him?

After this what could be done or said that was omitted, to obtain a Redress in Parliament? Was there any other way to Secure us than that of a Parliament? Was this granted before it became Impossible to hinder it? And when all mens Eyes were upon this, did he not then Deliberately resolve



solve to defeat our Expectations and to withdraw and leave us in a State of Anarchy and Confusion? Here was no *Surprize, Streightness of time, no just resentment*, except he were angry that we could not contribute to our own Ruin, and enslaving; that we would not cut up our Laws, Liberties and Religion with our Swords, and Sacrifice our *Deliverers* to our Oppressors.

Nor were these violations only personal Injuries, but they extended to the whole Church and Kingdom, and to the whole Constitution and every branch of it; nor were they such as would have ended with his Late Majesties life; but were to have been intailed upon us and our posterity for ever, for the Queen might have brought forth every year at that rate the Pretended Prince of *Wales* his birth is proved.

*We have (saith he) an excellent Church, and we do well to take due care to continue its Establishment; but to dispossess our Prince, upon this score, has as little Divinity as Law in it. I may answer this in the words of the Apostle. But if the unbelieving depart, let him depart. A Brother or a Sister is not under bondage in such a case: but God hath called us to Peace. 1. Cor. 7. 15.* We did not dispossess our Prince, but he deserted us because we would not give up the Legal Establishment of our Church and our Civil Liberties to boot.

*To endeavour to Preserve our Religion by such methods will make it more fatal to us in the Event than Atheism it self.*

That is, it were better to renounce the whole Apostles Creed and every article of it, than to endeavour to preserve our Religion by a defection from a Persecuting Prince. In truth this is Loyalty with a Vengeance.

*'Tis a mistake to think the World was made for none but Protestants; and if Dominion was founded in Grace, I am afraid our share would not be great in the Division. As to the first of these it is a silly insinuation, and concludes nothing. For tho it be true the world was not made for any one sort of men, yet I may assert that part of it which is fallen to my Lot against the Invasion of the Jesuits and Roman Catholics who pretend that the whole world ought to be Subject to the Vicar of Jesus Christ, St. Peter's Successor, and upon that Score will suffer no body to Live in Peace by them who will not be Subject to that old Gentleman and his emissaries.*



missaries. *And if Dominion were founded in grace*, we of the Protestant Religion should be able to maintain our possession of what we have, against any Religion that should pretend to our us, if we were to be tried by any other Christian Judge but the Infallible Gentleman at Rome. When I first read these two passages I concluded the piece was written by a R. C. but some of our own Brethren can sometimes speak as ill things of us as the worst of our Enemies, so violent are the transports of a Friend when thoroughly incensed.

*If it be objected, that his Majesty not sending to his People upon his removal, is an Argument that he intended to Govern them no Longer.*

*First, He Answers that the objecter doth not believe it.* In truth if any body did ever think or say that he was weary of Reigning or quitted *England* with a design to trouble himself no more about it, he must be very Ignorant of the temper of the Late King, and of the managment of affairs in the Last Scene of his Government. We were not so happy! he was resolved to be our Master when he was most resolutely bent not to do us that Justice which we had so much right to; his going to *France*, Added to that Expression in his Letter from *Rocheſter*, *Ibo I have ventured my Life very frankly, on several occasions for the Good and Honour of my Country, and am as free to do it again* (and which I hope I shall yet do, as old as I am, to redeem it from the Slavery it is like to fall under) *Yet I think it not Convenient to Expose my self to be secured as not to be at Liberty to effect it; and for that reason do withdraw my self*: These shew clearly he went away with a resolution to return and make a conquest of us, and then we may conjecture at what rate we shall be redeemed from Slavery.

*Secondly, That his Majesty was scarcely Landed in France* before the Administration was Conferred upon the Prince of Orange which Action might very well discourage his Majesty from sending any message so soon as he intended: But since it is Known his Majesty has sent Letters to, (If not to the Privy Council, as some affirm) yet to the Convention.

There was in truth a Letter to the Privy Council, Two to the Convention of *England*, which I am informed were sealed up in Covers and never opened; but there has since been a pretended copy of it printed and spread about the

Town,

\* The Administration of Affairs, was in truth conferred on the Prince of Orange, the very day the King left London; by the Declaration made at Guildhal And all that followed till the 12th of February, was but a confirming that first Act, by after Acts.



Town, and another Letter has since that been sent to the Convention of Scotland; and they all of them as far as is Known confirm his resolution of attacking England.

*W<sup>h</sup> y* Thirdly, They that were the occasion of his Majesties Departure should (one would think) have waited upon him, and invited him back. For without question the injuring person ought to make the first step towards an Accommodation, Especially when wrong is *a m* done to a Prince. Now whether his Majesty has been well used in this Revolution, or not, I leave to the World to Judge now, but God will do it afterwards,

*W* This Conclusion will serve me and him indifferently, And therefore I shall add no more but this. The Author of this Letter wrote it in an heat before things were well understood or at all Determin'd, and therefore deserves much Compassion, much that I have said in Answer to it was not known to him, and I am perswaded he himself will now see and acknowledg too the weakness of many things which he then Advanced. In short I design nothing by this Answer but the Service of their Majesties, the Peace of England, And the Preservation of our Religion our Laws and Ancient Government. And could these have been preserved any otherways, the Memory of his Late Majesty should have been still sacred to me notwithstanding his Mis-Government. Whilest this Piece was preparing to the Press there was an Answer to his Paper printed in two sheets in Quarto, wherein the Author has taken notice of some passages in this Letter which I thought fit to omit as not being of any moment as to the main question depending; and therefore if the reader is not satisfied without so minute an Answer he may have recourse to that Paper.

**F I N I S**



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